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ESSAY

ON THE

UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

BY

BAPTIST WRIOTHESLEY NOEL, M.A.

Ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ.—Eph., iv., 15.



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P R E F A C E.

As in the following work I have frankly attacked the union between the Church and State, I feel constrained to bear my humble testimony to the piety and worth of many who uphold it. I have stated without reserve the influence of the system upon prelates; but how many instances occur in which men raised to the most ensnaring honors have successfully resisted their temptations! Of those prelates with whom I have the honor to be acquainted, some I admire for their simplicity, benevolence, and liberality, and others still more for eminent piety. Most wisely in many instances, and most conscientiously I doubt not in all, have the present government administered their ecclesiastical patronage.

Still more anxious am I to do justice to my beloved and honored brethren, the evangelical ministers of the Establishment. Having acted with them for many years, I can speak of their principles with confidence. Numbers of them, whose names I should rejoice to mention here with honor, are as

sincere in adhering to the Establishment as I wish to be in quitting it. Of many of them I am convinced that they surpass me in devotedness to Christ. Worthy successors of Romaine and John Venn, of Newton, Cecil, and Thomas Scott, of Robinson and of Simeon, I hope that, remaining conscientiously in the Establishment, they will have the respect and affection of all good men. May they enjoy increasing comfort and usefulness to the end of their ministry! While I condemn a State prelacy, I honor each pious prelate; while I mourn the relations of godly pastors to the State, I no less rejoice in their godliness. The reasons for separation appear to me clear; but I do not expect others to think as I do. In claiming my own liberty of judgment, I learn to respect theirs. To remain in the Establishment with my views would be criminal, with theirs it is a duty.

If by any of my expressions I have unnecessarily wounded the feelings of any Christian brother, I ask him to forgive me. If I have unconsciously fallen into any exaggeration, I deeply deplore it. Throughout the work I have made a clear distinction between evangelical and unevangelical clergymen; between those who preach the Gospel and those who do not preach it. No spurious liberality, no fear of censure, should obliterate the distinction; yet many, doubtless, who are not ranked among the evangelical party, who do not support their

institutions, and who do not usually act with them, may be converted and faithful ministers of Christ.

Lastly, I must express my regret that I have not done more for the welfare of a friendly, considerate, and willing Church, to which I have been for twenty-two years a pastor, and with whom I hoped to have spent the remainder of my days. Sterner duties which the study of the word of God has forced upon my attention have to be fulfilled. But I can not quit them without earnest prayer that my successor may receive much grace to build them up in piety, nor without my grateful thanks for their abundant and unvarying kindness.

HORNSEY, *Dec.* 14, 1848.

Note.—I am sorry to discover various repetitions in the work, arising from the want of leisure for revision : if it reaches a second edition they shall be removed.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN his great mercy to our fallen race, God has given us a complete revelation of his will. By the voice of Christ, and by evangelists and apostles, as well as by ancient prophets, he has made known to us all our duty to him and to each other. In the examination, therefore, of every question of right and wrong, our first step toward a just conclusion must be to learn what he has said. When the three apostles were enshrined with our Lord in glory on the mount of transfiguration, they heard from the depth of the oppressive splendor these words, "*This is my beloved Son; hear him.*" On every subject we must hear him first, be guided by his judgments, and obey his decisions. To neglect to hear him is to expose ourselves to a reckoning from which the boldest may well shrink. For when the Almighty promised to raise up Christ as a prophet to his church, he added, "*Whosoever shall not hearken to my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.*"¹ To hear his commands and to disobey them is as fatal as to refuse to hear them, rendering vain every profession of discipleship, and subverting every hope of final happiness; for Christ has said, "Every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell; and great was the fall of it."² Those only can be blessed who tremble at the word of God.³ Those only love Christ who keep his commands.⁴ It is vain to say to him, Lord, Lord, unless we do his will;⁵ and while a willful ignorance of his

¹ Deut. xviii. 18, 19.

² Matt. vii. 26.

³ Isaiah lxvi. 2.

⁴ John xiv. 21.

⁵ Luke vi. 46.

will is fatal,¹ to disobey it when known is still more criminal.²

These statements must of course apply to the union of Christian churches with the governments of nations. The independence of the churches on the one hand, or their association with governments on the other, must exercise so important an influence upon the progress of religion both within the churches, and around them, that we might expect to find some directions in this matter afforded by Scripture; and if there be such, we must be guided wholly by them. No consideration of what is supposed to be natural, no precedent, ancient or modern, no views of expediency, no allegations of general custom, no appeal to the law of the land, must be heard. If Christ has spoken, this must determine the judgment of every one of his sincere disciples. Each writer upon the union between Church and State has more or less explicitly owned this. Some avow it with greater frankness than others, render it more prominent in their reasonings, argue it with greater zeal, and recur to it more frequently; but all admit it. Hooker, who made but little use of this rule, distinctly recognized it, thus: "Better it were to be superstitious than profane—to take from thence (the Scriptures) our direction even in all things, great and small, than to wade through matters of principal weight and moment without ever caring what the law of God hath either for or against our designs. . . . Did they (the heathen) make so much account of the voice of their gods, which in truth were no gods, and shall we neglect the precious benefit of conference with those oracles of the true and living God? . . . Use we the precious gifts of God unto his glory and honor that gave them, seeking by all means to know what the will of our God is; what righteousness before him; in his sight what holy, perfect, and good; that we may truly and faithfully do it."³ Mr. Gladstone has thus stated it: "I submit that the most authentic, the most conclusive, the most philosophical, and, in the absence of literal and undisputed precept from Scrip-

¹ John xvii. 3; iii. 19, 20.

² Luke xii. 47, 48.

³ Hooker's "Polity," book i.

ture, also the most direct method of handling this important investigation, is that which examines the moral character and capacities of nations and of rulers, and thus founds the whole idea of their duty upon that will which gave them existence."¹ According to these words, the will of God is the ultimate law which is to guide us, and the precepts of Scripture are the clearest interpretation of his will. Mr. M'Neile, in his "Lectures on the Church of England," is more earnest and abundant in his testimony to the same principle, as may be judged from the following extracts: "For the fundamental principles of our ecclesiastical instrumentality, we claim the direct authority of the word of God."² "We have been taunted with our unwillingness to bring the matter to the direct light of revealed truth, and challenged . . . to come to the law and to the testimony. *We accept the challenge*, and cordially rejoice in the assurance that, after all, nothing has the same extensive and permanent effect upon the British public as an honest appeal to the word of our God."³ "That connection with the Christian church, which we have shown from the nature of things to be the ruler's safety, we proceed now to show *from the word of God* to be the ruler's duty."⁴ "There is no prevention of confusion in the outset, but by a mutual adherence to the supreme standard, the revealed will of God; and THERE IS NO RECOVERY FROM CONFUSION INCURRED BUT BY A VIGOROUS AND DETERMINED RECURRENCE (AT ANY PRESENT RISK) TO THAT STANDARD."⁵ M. de Rougemont, in his work entitled "The Individualists," repeatedly enforces the same principle. His great charge against M. Vinet, and those who agree with him in proposing the separation of the Church and the State, is, "That they are establishing a new dogma without the Bible, and contrary to it:"⁶ "That in questions essentially religious they do not rest upon the Bible, but on human reasonings:"⁷ "That M. Vinet's book offers a new theory of the church, without furnishing scriptural proofs for its

¹ The State in its Relations with the Church, chap. ii.

² Lectures, p. 2.

³ Ib. p. 7.

⁴ Ib. p. 148.

⁵ Ib. p. 153.

⁶ Ib. p. 7.

⁷ Ib. p. 11.

support."¹ And, lastly, M. Grandpierre agrees with M. Rougemont in claiming that the whole doctrine of the separation of the Church and State should be based upon the Scripture. "Before expounding a theory with which, according to our author (Vinet), Christianity is so intimately connected, he should at the outset have asked himself, What does the word of God teach us on this subject."²

Of course, whatever is scriptural must also be expedient, since nothing can be gained by departing from the rule which God has given to us; but the expediency of the rule is not the foundation of its authority. If God has manifested his will on the subject of the union of the churches of Christ with the governments under which they live, Christians are to obey it because it is his will. If any human authorities command us to do what he forbids, we can only answer in the words of the apostle: "*Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.*"³ . . . *We ought to obey God rather than men.*"⁴ No authority must interfere with his.

Before I proceed to examine how far the union of the Church with the State is agreeable to the will of God, it is necessary to consider what is meant by a Church, what is meant by a State, and what is meant by their union.

I. The word "Church" is commonly used in the following senses:

1. The place where a Christian congregation assembles—a building used for public worship; *e. g.* "the parish church."

2. Something indefinite, as when an expression being quoted from the prayer-book, it is said to be what the church teaches.

3. The clergy paid by the State: *e. g.* when a young man joins the national clergy in England or Scotland, he is said to "go into the church."

4. All persons baptized by the national clergy, and con-

¹ Lectures, p. 128.

² Reflections, &c., par J. H. Grandpierre, p. 58.

³ Acts iv. 19.

⁴ Verse 29.

nected with their ministry: *e. g.* "the Church of England," "the Church of Scotland."

5. All the congregations throughout the world acknowledging a particular ecclesiastical discipline: *e. g.* "the Roman Catholic Church," "the Greek Church," "the Armenian Church," "the Presbyterian Church."

6. All persons throughout the world, baptized in the name of Christ: *e. g.* "the Visible Church Catholic."

All these six meanings of the word are contrary to the original meaning, and are wholly unscriptural. It is not once used in Scripture in any of these senses.

Besides these, it has three other meanings.

1. It was originally used to express an assembly of the citizens in the Greek republics. When the legislative assembly was summoned by the town-crier, it was called an *ἐκκλησία*, a church.¹ In this sense the word is frequently used by Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and other writers.² And in this sense it is used in the 19th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. A crowd having assembled in the theater at Ephesus to maintain their idolatry against the doctrine of St. Paul, it is said by the historian that "*the ἐκκλησία, or church, was confused*;"³ upon which the town-clerk urged them to restore order, declaring that every matter might be *determined in a lawful ἐκκλησία, or church*;⁴ with which words he dismissed that riotous *ἐκκλησία, or church*.⁵

2. It being the word commonly used to express an assembly of citizens, it was thence adopted by the apostles to express an assembly of Christians; the Christian sense of the word growing naturally out of its civil sense. Each Christian congregation is, therefore, in the New Testament called an *ἐκκλησία*—an assembly, a church. The congregation of poor persons at Philippi was called the church, or assembly, of that place.⁶ The poor congregation at Thessalonica was so termed.⁷ A small congregation which

¹ See Liddell's "Lexicon."

² See Stephen's "Thesaurus," Liddell's "Lexicon," Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," and Potter's "Antiquities."

³ Acts xix. 32.

⁴ Acts xix. 39.

⁵ Verse 41.

⁶ Phil. iv. 15.

⁷ 1 Thess. i. 1.

met in Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, was called the church, or assembly, of Cenchreae.¹ A small assembly which met beneath the roof of Priscilla and Aquila in or near Rome, was called the church in their house.² Philemon had a church in his house;³ and when Paul spoke of the Christian congregations scattered over a country, he always termed them the churches, or assemblies, of that territory. Thus we read of the churches of Judea, the churches of Galatia, and the churches of Macedonia;⁴ but never of the church of Judea, the church of Galatia, the church of Macedonia: because the Christians of a single town formed one assembly, but the Christians of a country many assemblies.

3. Many words have in common-life a literal and a figurative meaning, or, I should rather say, a corporeal and a spiritual signification; and may mean either something visible and tangible, or something invisible which is analogous. The hand means often power, the head intellect, the heart affection; force may mean mechanical or moral force; an uneasy sensation of body or of mind may be termed pain; the word gloom may describe a state of the atmosphere or the condition of events; the mind may be agitated as well as the sea; and there may be the light of reason as well as the light of the sun. This customary extension of words from the corporeal to the spiritual has been applied to the word "church," so that, from meaning a local and visible assembly of persons gathered into one spot, it came to mean the whole company of believers in Christ gathered into one community, by receiving the same truths;⁵ and so become one city, one temple, one body, one flock, one tree, one household, one family, though corporeally scattered over the whole earth.⁶ In the following

¹ Rom. xvi. 1.

² Rom. xvi. 5.

³ Philemon 2.

⁴ Gal. i. 22; 1 Cor. xvi. 11; Gal. i. 2; 2 Cor. viii. 1. See, also, Acts ix. 31; xv. 41; xvi. 5; Rom. xvi. 4, 16; 1 Cor. vii. 17; xvi. 19; Rev. i. 4, 11, &c.

⁵ Matt. xvi. 18; Eph. i. 22; iii. 10, 21; v. 23-32; Heb. xii. 23.

⁶ See Gal. iv. 26; Heb. xii. 22; Eph. ii. 21; 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13; John x. 16; xv. 5; Heb. iii. 6; Eph. iii. 15.

essay, therefore, I shall, for the sake of clearness, adhere exclusively to the scriptural senses of the word "church." By this word I do not mean the building, nor the clergy, nor the adherents to the national Establishment, nor the aggregate of the congregations adhering to any particular ecclesiastical discipline, nor the whole number of the baptized throughout the world; but either a congregation of professed disciples of Jesus Christ in any place, or, secondly, the whole company of his true disciples throughout the world. When I, therefore, have to speak of the great ecclesiastical confederations now existing in the world, I shall, to avoid confusion in the argument, adhere to the scriptural phraseology. I shall speak of the Roman Catholic churches and the Greek churches, of the Scotch Establishment, of the English Establishment, or of the churches within these Establishments; not of the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, the Church of Scotland, or the Church of England. And the reader will understand, therefore, that the question which I have to investigate is, Whether it is the will of Christ that the Christian congregation, or church, and, consequently, that the Christian churches within the Establishment, should be united with the State or not?

II. By the word "State" I mean the governing power in the nation, including the legislative and the executive powers. In our own country the executive power is lodged with the Crown and the ministers; the legislative power belongs to four bodies,—to the Crown, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and, indirectly, to the Constituency. The question, therefore, which I have to investigate is, Whether it be according to the will of Christ that the Christian church, or congregation, should in this country be united with the government, both legislative and executive, or not.

III. The union between the Church and the State of which I have to speak, is not the relation of each member of the Church as a citizen to the government under which he lives; not his subjection in common with all his fellow-citizens to the laws and to the sovereign; but it is the

definite union between the Church and the government, which arises from a national payment of the pastor, and the consequent superintendence of him and of the Church by the State.

I have, then, to inquire, in the following pages, Whether it is the will of Christ, as deducible from the word of God, that the Christian congregations of this country should receive the salaries of their pastors from the State, and be consequently placed under its superintendence ?

PART I.

ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNION BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE STATE.

IN the existing union between the Establishment and the State in this country there are certain leading features which determine its special character. The State maintains the clergy of the Establishment, assumes in return a certain amount of control over them, confers on certain patrons the right of presenting them to livings, exalts them above the ministers of other sects, and compels the payment of the rent-charges and rates by which they are maintained. All these facts condemn the union, because they involve a disregard of various Christian principles. But, antecedently to that condemnation of the union which results from the examination of its special character, there is another condemnation of it derived from general considerations, which must be first noticed.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS WHICH CONDEMN THE UNION.

IN this, as in every other question of religious duty, we must ultimately be guided by the word of God : but as some advocates of the union, who could find no scriptural authority for it, have pronounced it to be reasonable, natural, and wise—reasonable because the State is competent to protect and superintend the Church, natural because the

relation of the State to the people is analogous to the parental relation, and wise because confirmed by general experience—I will show, before I examine the condemnation pronounced upon it by the word of God, that it is condemned by the constitution of the State, by the parental relation, and by the practice of mankind ; to all of which they so confidently appeal in its behalf.

SECTION I.—*The Union between the Church and the State is condemned by the Constitution of the State.*

The duties of the State episcopate are to determine in the last resort the creed, the canons, the discipline, and the ministers of the Establishment. The Establishment can neither amend one of the articles of its creed if erroneous, nor add to their number if the creed be defective, without the assent of the State. Without the concurrence of the State it can not meet to enact a canon, nor enact a canon when met, nor execute a canon when enacted. It can not execute discipline upon offending clergymen, or others, except in courts of which the State appoints the judge ; and from which the State receives appeals. And, lastly, the State both nominates its prelates and determines by law the appointment of all its pastors. Now, the State is unfitted by its composition to execute this episcopate.

For these ecclesiastical functions the members of the State ought to be pious and united. They ought to be pious because none but pious men are likely to study the Scripture with sufficient care to know what doctrine it teaches or what discipline it enjoins. An error, for instance, which is maintained by many ministers of the Establishment, and for the support of which they refer to the prayer-book, is the notion that infants are regenerated by baptism. This error, which ought to be distinctly repudiated by the Establishment, can not be expunged from its formularies except with the concurrence of Parliament ; and unless the members of Parliament are generally religious men, they are not likely to investigate the subject with sufficient care, to know what the doctrine of Scripture is on the subject of

regeneration. Some of the canons of the Establishment breathe the bigotry of the sixteenth century. These ought at once to be erased from our ecclesiastical statute-book. But the Establishment can not erase them without the aid of the House of Commons ; and in order to judge of their unscriptural spirit, the members of that House ought to be well acquainted with the Scriptures.

The members of the State ought likewise to be united in ecclesiastical questions ; because any judgment pronounced by a majority in Parliament against a minority within the legislature, strengthened by, perhaps, a majority of the people, must always be without moral weight, and lead to schism. Besides, when parties are nearly balanced, a few members of the most irreligious character may ultimately determine the most important ecclesiastical questions which Parliament is called to discuss.

Now the members of Parliament can not be expected to be generally either pious or united : few of the great and wealthy have ever been distinguished by earnestness in spiritual religion. “ *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.*”¹ And from the first, God has hid the truths of the Gospel from the wise and prudent, which he has revealed to babes.² Now the three things which introduce men into the legislature are rank, wealth, and superior capacity. The House of Lords is composed, without reference to character, of those who inherit rank and wealth. The descendants of able statesmen, of brave generals, of clever lawyers, or of successful money-makers ; they are hereditary legislators, whatever may be their lack of intellect, their contempt for the Gospel, or their disregard of morals. To the House of Commons many obtain admission by the influence of property, and many are chosen because of their capacity to maintain the political views of their constituents. The electors represent the mass of the nation. They may be honest or dishonest, upright or corrupted, free or servile, enlightened or prejudiced ; but they can not be, in general, godly. And they are, of course,

¹ Matt. xix. 24.

² Matt. xi. 25.

likely to choose as their representatives men who are like themselves. A few religious men may be chosen; the majority must be irreligious. It can not be otherwise. Is the world spiritual or unspiritual, regenerate or unregenerate? If unspiritual and unregenerate, why should they choose spiritual men to represent them in Parliament? I will add that it ought not to be otherwise. If we are to be well governed, the House of Commons should gather to itself the greatest capacities in the kingdom. A religious man without talent is no more fitted to be a senator than a religious man without muscle is fitted to be a blacksmith; and electors should no more choose a Christian without sound political knowledge to direct the nation, than a government should choose a Christian without knowledge of navigation or of gunnery to command a man-of-war. Religious men, though more upright than others, are not exempt from human infirmities, and may have false views in politics, with small capacity; and if the nation were in the hands of such men, however excellent, their blunders would expose the legislature to contempt and the country to danger. Our rulers ought to be men of ability, and if they have sound morals this is all which can be generally asked. Mr. Gladstone, when endeavoring to prove the competency of the State "to choose the national religion" — "to choose in matter of religion better than the average of the people will do it for themselves"—only claims for its members superior intelligence and good morals. "Governments ought to be—and it will hardly be disputed that, from the necessities of their position, they actually are—higher in the scale of intelligence than the fluctuating elements of average opinion."¹ "Next, if we regard the ethical character or personal morality of rulers, by which I mean their principles of Christian, and in a minor sense, of human, virtue, *I do not know that it can be fairly taken as inferior to that which, upon the whole, characterizes the mass.*"² "A State can not select its members from the mass, *nor can it make character a condition of power.*"³ Able men, though without religious character,

¹ The State, &c. i. 288.² Ib. p. 290.³ Ib. p. 96.

must necessarily make their way into it; and Mr. Roebuck might with justice declare, in his place in Parliament, "We, sir, are, or ought to be, the *élite* of the people of England for mind;"¹ but neither he, nor any other member of the House of Commons, can contend that they are the *élite* of the people of England for piety. But where has Mr. Gladstone learned that superior intelligence and average morality qualify the members of the legislature to guide and to superintend the churches of Christ, to determine, for Christian congregations and for Christian pastors, what doctrine is true, what morality is scriptural, and what discipline is according to the will of Christ? The House of Commons is composed of the eldest sons of peers, of baronets and squires, of naval captains and of colonels in the army, of lawyers, of aldermen, of bankers, of merchants and manufacturers, of stockbrokers and railroad directors; and what is there in their education and pursuits to qualify them to be rulers of the churches of Christ, to sit in judgment upon creeds and canons, or to determine for all the Christians of the land the election of their pastors and the administration of church discipline? When our Lord preached in person, his doctrines and his morality were hid from the wise and prudent.² In St. Paul's day the same doctrines and morals seemed foolishness to the most enlightened Greeks.³ And if the members of the legislature have the highest attributes which Mr. Gladstone ventures to assign to them—superior intelligence and average morality, with nothing more—they are much more likely to despise the Gospel than to honor it, to trample on its precepts than to uphold them; and are utterly disqualified to exercise an ultimate control over the churches of Christ. Statesmanship no more qualifies to direct the affairs of a church, than piety qualifies to direct the affairs of a nation. Let each keep to its own sphere of action.

But the unfitness of the State to exercise this general episcopate does not depend merely on the irreligion of many of its members; the discrepancy of their opinions is

¹ The State in its Relations, &c. vol. i. p. 286.

² Matt. xi. 25.

³ 1 Cor. i. 23.

not less fatal to their competency. "There may be a state of things," says Mr. Gladstone, "in which religious communions are so equally divided, or so variously subdivided, that the government is itself similarly checkered in its religious complexion, and thus internally incapacitated by utter disunion from acting in matters of religion."¹ This is our state. If a petition is presented by an archbishop that the Establishment may have some ecclesiastical government, or if a proposition is made by a noble lord to bring the rubric into more harmony with existing custom, by whom are these points to be decided? First, in future days by a sovereign who may be exactly the reverse of our gracious Queen, and may be the antitype of Henry VIII. or of Charles II. Secondly, by the Lords, who may be Anglicans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Socinians, or men of pleasure without thought of any religion. Thirdly, by members of the House of Commons. These may be men of high principle or of no principle; Roman Catholics, Anglo-Catholics, Deists, Socinians, Swedenborgians, or Quakers; they may be religious or profane, young men of gayety and fashion, or old men of inveterate immorality; they may be wealthy or steeped in debt; absolutists, sighing for the resurrection of Laud and Strafford, or democrats, who in their dreams see bright visions of republicanism; they may be sportsmen, who are ever foremost at the death of the fox, or keener civic hunters after gold; they may be lovers of pleasure, whose employments are seldom more serious than the opera, and who enter the House of Commons for amusement; or lovers of party, whose highest ambition may be to keep one minister in, or to turn another out. By these chambers the churches of Christ in this country consent that their creed and their laws, their discipline and the choice of their pastors, shall be ultimately decided. In what respect would two other chambers, the first composed of four hundred bankers, and the second of six hundred railroad directors, be less fitted to superintend those churches? To leave the creeds and the discipline of the churches in such hands is to check

¹ The State in its Relations, &c. vol. i. p. 304.

the progress of religion and to make Parliament ridiculous.

What good can the legislature intend to effect by maintaining this State government of the churches? Does the House of Commons mean to promote spiritual religion by it? Alas! the majority of its members are probably ignorant of spiritual religion, and perhaps ridicule both the men who uphold it and the institutions by which it is promulgated. Would the majority of these ecclesiastical rulers present their livings to evangelical men? Do they attend evangelical preaching? Are they subscribers to evangelical societies, to the Bible Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Tract Society, or the London City Mission? In what way do they individually promote spiritual religion? Do they, then, intend to uphold by the union the *morality* of the Gospel? Its precepts condemn all quarreling, urging a man when struck on one cheek to present the other, and enjoining, on pain of the highest penalties, the forgiveness of offenders. They declare that drunkards and fornicators shall not enter heaven. They frown on pride and exalt humility; and not only do they discountenance debt, but command the rich, as stewards of God, to give liberally to the poor. How many of the two Houses assent to these rules of life? How many exhibit a practical subjection to their authority? The morals of the Gospel, no less than its doctrines, have ever been folly to the world. Is it this "folly" which the majority of both Houses uphold?

But if the legislature does not intend to promulgate evangelical doctrine, or to enforce Christian morality by its maintenance of the union, they must have some other ends in view, and it becomes Christians to consider seriously what they are. Let them, however, be what they will, the composition of the State is such as to make its exercise of ecclesiastical authority at once a crime and an absurdity.

It is vain to argue that governments ought, by all means in their power, to advance the cause of Christ. This may be very true, and yet their episcopate remain unscriptural, absurd, and mischievous. It is the duty of each member

of Parliament, of each peer, of each minister of the Crown, and of the sovereign, to be a consistent Christian. Each ruler of the country is bound to acknowledge his guilt and ruin as a sinner who could only be saved by redemption through the blood of the Son of God, to trust wholly in the merit and mediation of Christ for pardon, for holiness, and for heaven. Rank, wealth, and power, only increase the obligation upon any one to obey the will of God declared in the Bible, to set a Christian example, to be a member of a Christian church, to govern his family by Christian rules, to train up his children in the fear of God, to discountenance vice, to discourage dissipating and mischievous amusements, to promote Christian missions among the heathen, to aid the diffusion of evangelical instruction at home by liberal contributions, and in all other ways to honor religion.

Each member of Parliament is no less bound to make the law of God the exclusive rule of his public conduct. Each public measure should be considered with reference to the divine will ; each vote should be given in the fear of God ; and every legislator is called to avow that he is governed in all things by the authority of Christ. Whoever neglects these duties is misusing the gifts of God, and must give account to his Maker for that misuse.

The same principles should obviously govern the united action of all the members of the State. They must legislate and govern in the fear of God, according to Scripture, for the glory of God and the good of the nation. Hence their laws must be neither anti-Christian nor immoral, neither unjust nor oppressive : they ought to discourage all profanity and ungodliness among themselves ; they should afford to all the agents of government, to soldiers, sailors, and policemen, opportunities and means of religious improvement ; they should abolish all class legislation, create no unjust monopolies, protect the weak from oppression, ameliorate by all means in their power the condition of the poor, remove all artificial checks upon industry, make all the subjects equal in the eye of the law, admit as many as possible to all the privileges of the constitution, and gene-

rally make the happiness of all the object of their constant efforts. They are further called to protect Christians in their worship, to allow no public hindrance to the preaching of the Gospel, to secure the safety of Christian missionaries throughout the empire, to elevate the condition of the aborigines of our colonies, to be upright and fair in their diplomacy, to condemn and to abstain from war, and to aid rather than hinder the prosperity of other nations. Finally, while discharging these Christian duties, they no less owe it to their Lord and Redeemer to leave his churches free from all secular control, to intrude no ministers upon them, to impose no tax on the reluctant for the purposes of religion, and to use no coercion whatever of their subjects in any religious matters.

Thus if the State were wholly Christian, it ought to abolish its union with the churches. But is it Christian? How many members of Parliament profess to trust wholly in Christ for their salvation from hell, and, therefore, make his word their exclusive rule of conduct? If the majority are without this faith, they are unchristian and ungodly; and the union between the Church and State, is the union between the churches of Christ and a body of unconverted men—it is the union of the church with the world. And since all who are not with Christ are against him, it is the union of his friends with his enemies. The effect of the union does not depend upon what the State ought to be, but upon what it is; and to advocate the union because the State is bound to be evangelical, is the same thing as to say that a thief should be made the trustee of a property because he is bound to be honest; or that the Lord's Supper should be administered to a drunken profligate because he is bound to be virtuous and sober. The advocates of the union constantly argue not from what the State is, but from what it ought to be; and infer most erroneously the effect of the union of the churches with the actual State from what they suppose would be the effect of their union with the Utopian State. The actual State is irreligious, and the churches are bound to dissolve their union with it.

SECTION II.—*The Union is condemned by the Parental Relation.*

Mr. Gladstone, as well as other advocates of the union, has much insisted on the analogy between the nation and the family—between the functions of the State and those of the parent.¹ Hence, he adds, “I argue that the State when rightly constituted is eminently competent, by intrinsic as well as extrinsic attributes, to lead and to solicit the mind of the people, to exercise the function, modified indeed, but yet real, of an instructor, and even of a parent.”² Bishop Wilson adds, “Though an Establishment is not essential to Christianity itself, it is essential to every Christian government which desires to discharge its highest obligations toward the people committed to its care. A connection between Christianity and the rulers of a Christian country is imperiously required to fulfill the duty of the PARENT OF THE STATE to his vast family.”³ The doctrine grounded on this analogy is that, as a parent must provide Christian instruction for his family, so the State must provide Christian instruction for the nation. Both the analogy and the doctrine founded upon it are false.

The State being composed of Queen, Lords, and Commons, among which three estates the House of Commons having now so much influence that its decided and permanent judgment determines ultimately every public question, we must consider that House as being especially the depository of the State’s parental authority. But if the House of Commons is the parent of the nation, the difference between the father of the nation and the father of the family is so considerable as to make their respective duties exceedingly distinct.

1. Children being placed under the authority of their parents through their weakness and ignorance, without any choice of their own, the control of them by their father is natural and unavoidable; but the House of Commons is chosen by the electors of the empire, and is, therefore, an

¹ The State, &c. vol. i. pp. 72–76, 85.

² Ib. p. 282.

³ Bishop of Calcutta’s “Farewell Charge,” p. 24.

elective father, an adopted parent, raised to that dignity by his adopting children, to whom alone he owes his position and his power.

2. The father of the family has a permanent, and, within certain limits, an irresponsible control, so that he can determine the education of his children from infancy to manhood. But the national father is elected by his children, on certain terms and for certain ends, can claim no more power than they are pleased to concede, is responsible to them for the execution of his office, is forced by them to resign it at the end of seven years, because they are afraid that he would assume too much authority, and all his decisions may be revoked by the next elected national father, whose views may be totally opposed to his own.

Since, then, the circumstances of the parent are so different from those of the State, it is obviously unsafe to argue from the duties of the one to the functions of the other; but just so far as there is an analogy between them, that analogy condemns the control of the Church by the State as absurd: for when the children of any family grow up to manhood, they are invariably emancipated from parental control in matters of religion. What parent would think of dictating to his son at the age of thirty, the creed which he should profess, or the minister whom he should attend? What son at that age would submit to such dictation? At that epoch the authority of the father in religious matters has expired, since every man is responsible to God for his religious conduct, and can permit no one to interpose between his Maker and him. The son is then become religiously independent; and all attempts to impose on him a creed or a religious teacher would be usurpation. The obligation of the parent to teach the children arising solely from their need of divine truth, from their incapacity to judge for themselves, the reason of this dictation ceases as soon as their faculties are mature, and from that time it would be criminal in them to permit its exercise. Not less imbecile and culpable is it in a nation to allow the State to dictate its creed: for the nation is full-grown. There have been times when a government might

with some plausibility assume toward a nation the tone of a parent to a child : but why should this nation be treated as a child now ? Myriads of men in this country can think for themselves on religion as well as the 658 members of the House of Commons can think for them. In every free nation the press and the platform are co-ordinate powers with the legislature itself : and in this country every day makes it more manifest, that the members of the House of Commons are not pedagogues, but representatives of men ; among whom are many who are as able as themselves to investigate every question both of politics and morals : and if the nation is composed of men, Parliament should cease to treat them as children. Indeed, in no other question are they treated as children. The State does not determine for us our lawyer, physician, or tradesman ; why should it appoint our pastor ? Why select for its dictation precisely the matter in which it is the least competent to dictate, and in which its blunders are the most injurious ? When the parent chooses the pastor for his children, he chooses also their physician and their tradesman ; if the State will play the parent with men, let it nominate our physicians and our tradesmen no less than our ministers. Either treat us wholly as children, or wholly as men.

When a parent relinquishes all control over the religion of his children, because they have attained to manhood, he may yet be wiser than they, and is certainly more experienced. But what religious wisdom and experience has this elected national father, who retains the control over the churches of Christ ? Here, in truth, the analogy between the relation of the State to the churches and the relation of the parent to his children is wholly reversed. In the churches of Christ is collected all the religious wisdom of the country : in the House of Commons there is little religious wisdom. If in political knowledge Parliament may resemble the parent and the nation be like the child, in spiritual knowledge Parliament is like the child while the churches have the wisdom of the parent : and to intrust Parliament with the creed, laws, and discipline of the churches, is to intrust the control of the parent to the child.

But this is not the whole of the absurdity involved in the State episcopate. As no one can teach what he does not know, or will inculcate what he does not believe, an ungodly father can not educate his children in religion. On the contrary, some ungodly parents have been known so systematically to vitiate the minds of their children, that the Court of Chancery has on this ground taken from them the custody of their own sons. The State is under the same incapacity. If the House of Commons be the national father, it is a father so irreligious, that the children should be withdrawn from his control. Six hundred members of Parliament, with no more religion than six hundred men taken at hazard from any city or town of Great Britain, whose theological opinions, including Romanism, High-Churchism, Socinianism, and a thousand other varieties, make up a perfect chaos of irreconcilable contradictions, are not entitled to control the creed and discipline of 12,000 Christian Churches.

To complete this view of the absurdity of the union, we must add that, while the father of a family controls the education of his children, because he pays for it, the members of the two Houses of Parliament, instead of paying themselves for the spiritual instruction of the nation, force the nation to pay for it, distraining on the property of all who refuse to pay: just as if an ignorant and ungodly parent should force his children, when grown up to manhood, to receive a bad tutor from him, and should beat and force them if they would not build a lecture-room, and pay the tutor's salaries themselves.

It is astonishing that Mr. Gladstone and Bishop Wilson can build so lofty a fabric on a foundation so rotten.

SECTION III.—*The Union condemned by History.*

No truth is more prominent in the New Testament than that we are saved by faith in our Redeemer.¹ But faith, according to the doctrine of the same book, is not

¹ John i. 12; iii. 14-16, 36; Mark xvi. 15, 16; Acts xiii. 39; xvi. 31; Rom. iii. 19-28; Gal. ii. 15, 16; iii. 9, 26; Eph. ii. 8, &c.

genuine, unless it leads to an open confession of Christ in the world ;¹ and, therefore, Christ required from all his disciples that they should openly confess him by baptism ; which, becoming the test of a true faith, was therefore connected with the remission of sins.² Thus, as the Lord Jesus Christ came into the world to bear witness to the truth, though it cost him his life,³ so his disciples must bear witness to it.

Since his doctrine has been preached men can no longer receive the creed of their fathers or of their country without investigation ; but each one is bound to search after truth, to receive it, to maintain it, and to promulgate it in the world, in opposition to all error, however venerable or popular. Our Lord predicted that this novel exercise of conscience in matters of religion, this independent inquiry and resolute profession, would disturb society every where to its very foundations. “ *Think not that I am come to send peace on earth : I came not to send peace but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law : and a man’s foes shall be they of his own household.*”⁴ *And ye shall be hated of all nations for my name’s sake.*”⁵

The Christian principle of individual inquiry, belief, and profession, was exactly the opposite of the pagan principle of unexamining conformity. The Gospel made conscience every thing, declaring, “ *Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind . . . Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.*”⁶ Heathenism made it nothing. According to the Gospel, every one was bound to reject the religion of his country if false. According to heathenism, every one was to conform to the religion of his country in all things. Christianity invited men to form a voluntary society, upon conviction as men ; heathenism herded them, by law, as animals, within the inclosure of a national ritual.

¹ Matt. x. 32, 33 ; Rom. x. 10.

² Mark xvi. 16 ; Acts ii. 37 ; viii. 37 ; xxii. 16 ; 1 Pet. iii. 21.

³ John xviii. 37.

⁴ Matt. x. 34–36.

⁵ Matt. xxiv. 9.

⁶ Rom. xiv. 5, 23.

The Greek legislators, wishing to secure for the republic the greatest military force by means of the most complete social unity, forbade dissent from the popular superstition. A man who disbelieved the power of fictitious and corrupt deities was thought to be a bad citizen, and was as such condemned. Draco punished dissent with death ; Plato would have it denounced to the magistrates as a crime ; Aristotle allowed but one established worship ; and Socrates was sentenced to death as a nonconformist. In the Greek republics the union between the State and the religion was so complete, that the rights of conscience were wholly disregarded. Men did not inquire what was true, but what was politic. The republic must be a great unity for attack or defense, and the religious independence which would break that unity must be exterminated.¹

Heathen princes had yet more powerful motives than republican magistrates to unite themselves strictly with the priesthood. Despotic rulers have ever sought to extort from their subjects all possible advantages for themselves, and for this end to retain them in the most complete servitude. They have chiefly depended on their armies ; but the fears and the hopes excited by superstition have been too obvious a support not to be largely employed. Well-paid soldiers have been their first instrument of power ; their second has been a well-paid priesthood. Priests have lent to despots, in aid of their selfish designs, the portents and the predictions of superstition ; and despots have in return invested the superstition with splendor, and punished non-conformity with death. Heathenism presented no obstacle to this union. The superstition being a corrupt invention, offered nothing which was disagreeable to corrupt rulers ; and the vices of rulers were not uncongenial to an equally corrupt priesthood. Nebuchadnezzar exalted himself when he compelled his subjects of every creed to bow down to his golden idol ; Belshazzar, amid his revels, felt no objection to "praise the gods of gold and silver ;" and it seemed to Darius excellent policy to establish a royal statute that no prayers should be offered to any god but himself for

¹ See "Christianisme et Paganisme," by Count de Gasparin, e. 1.

thirty days.¹ The infamous Tarquin could, without any inconvenient restraint upon his passions, build temples to Jupiter; Caligula and Nero felt no remorse at their wickedness, excited by the fulfillment of their functions of supreme pontiffs; and, on the other hand, the Brahmins of India found nothing in their Vedas and Purannas which made them blush at the vices and the tyranny of the rajahs by whom they were enriched. By the aid of the superstition the despot fortified his tyranny, and by the aid of the despotism the priest gave currency to his falsehoods. Thus the union of the State and the priesthood was an alliance of force and fraud. Neither party was strong enough to rule alone. But when the priest preached for the despot, and the despot governed for the priest, both the more easily kept their feet upon the necks of the people; and made the universal degradation subservient to their greatness.

When the churches began to be corrupted by the increasing wealth of their ministers, this pagan union of the State with the priesthood was extended to them; and emperors with the Christian name sought the aid of a corrupt Christian priesthood, as heathen emperors had sought the aid of augurs and of heathen priests. Constantine, who first openly protected the Christian churches, can scarcely be supposed to have done so from religious feeling. The progress of Christianity had been very considerable. If, before this reign, the Christians did not amount to more than one-twentieth part of the population, as asserted by Gibbon,² still this number of avowed Christians, at a time when the profession of faith in Christ exposed them to martyrdom, indicates that a much larger number were secretly convinced of its truth. Licinius, the rival of Constantine, could not, by his heathen zeal, raise any popular enthusiasm in his support; and if we had no other proof of the numerical extension of professed believers, we may infer it with certainty from the recorded habits of the clergy. "During the third century," says Mosheim, "the bishops assumed in many places a princely authority; they appropriated to their evangelical function the splendid

¹ Daniel iii. v. vi.

² Chap. xv.

ensigns of imperial majesty. A throne surrounded with ministers exalted above his equals the servant of the meek and humble Jesus ; and sumptuous garments dazzled the eyes and the minds of the multitude into an ignorant veneration for their arrogated authority. The example of the bishops was ambitiously imitated by the presbyters, who, neglecting the sacred duties of their station, advanced themselves to the indolence and delicacy of an effeminate and luxurious life. The deacons, beholding the presbyters deserting thus their functions, boldly usurped their rights ; and the effects of a corrupt ambition were spread through every rank of the sacred order.”¹ The splendor and ambition of the clergy manifest clearly that the Christians were become a powerful body, whom Constantine would desire to attach to his cause, and their number renders it very probable that policy was the earliest ground of his Christian profession. “ His conduct to the Christians was strictly in accordance with his interests ; and it is very probable that the protection with which he distinguished them may, in the first instance, have originated in his policy.”² But if it began in policy, political considerations would still more powerfully urge him to continue it. He had learned, no doubt, from the disturbances continually excited by Licinius, that neither himself nor the empire could enjoy a fixed state of tranquillity as long as the ancient superstitions subsisted ; and, therefore, from this period, he openly opposed the sacred rites of paganism as a religion detrimental to the interests of the state.³ On the other hand, it is too plain that he was an irreligious man. It was in the year 313 that he published the edict of Milan, by which he proclaimed universal toleration, and secured to the Christians their civil and religious rights.⁴ But, in the year 325, he ordered his rival, Licinius, to be strangled ;⁵ and the same year in which he convened the Council of Nice was polluted by the execution, or rather murder,

¹ Mosheim, cent. iii. part ii. chap. ii. sect. 4.

² Waddington, “ History of the Church,” p. 79.

³ Mosheim, cent. iv. part i. chap. 1. sect. 10.

⁴ Waddington, p. 77.

⁵ Mosheim, *ut supra*.

of his eldest son.¹ "It is not disputed that his career was marked by the usual excesses of intemperate and worldly ambition; and the general propriety of his moral conduct can not with any justice be maintained."² After his conversion to Christianity he still continued, as supreme pontiff, to be the head of the religion of heathen Rome, and thus continued to be invested with more absolute authority over the religion he had deserted than over that which he professed.³ But, as he had been the head of the heathen priesthood, it seemed to him right that he should make himself equally the head of the Christian priesthood. He, therefore, assumed a supreme jurisdiction over the clergy.⁴

One of the earliest objects of his policy was to diminish the independence of the Church. For which purpose he received it into strict alliance with the State; and combined in his own person the highest ecclesiastical with the highest civil authority.⁵ The entire control of the external administration of the Church he assumed to himself. He regulated every thing respecting its outward discipline; the final decision of religious controversies was subjected to the discretion of judges appointed by him; and no general council could be called except by his authority.⁶ Though he permitted the Church to remain a body politic distinct from that of the State, yet he assumed to himself the supreme power over this sacred body, and the right of modeling and of governing it in such a manner as should be most conducive to the public good.⁷ Thus he exercised at once a supremacy over the heathen and the Christian priesthoods. He was the chief pontiff of heathenism, and the chief bishop of the Christian Church. And this State episcopate he exercised many years before he was baptized; and long before he was a member of the Church he was its *summus episcopus*; and only a few days before his death received from Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, the ceremony of baptism.⁸

¹ Gibbon, chap. xx.

³ Gibbon, c. xxi.

⁵ Waddington, p. 81.

⁷ Mosheim, cent. iv. pt. ii. c. 2, § 1.

² Waddington, pp. 77, 78.

⁴ Gibbon, c. xx.

⁶ Waddington, p. 83.

⁸ Ib. chap. 1, sect. 8.

The consequence of this union between an irreligious prince and the clergy, who were already much corrupted, was lamentable. At the conclusion of this century there remained no more than a mere shadow of the ancient government of the Church. Many of the privileges which had formerly belonged to the presbyters and people were usurped by the bishops; and many of the rights which had been formerly vested in the Universal Church were transferred to the emperors and to subordinate magistrates.¹ The additions made by the emperors and others to the wealth, honors, and advantages of the clergy, were followed with a proportionable augmentation of vices and luxury, particularly among those of that sacred order who lived in great and opulent cities. The bishops, on the one hand, contended with each other in the most scandalous manner, concerning the extent of their respective jurisdictions; while, on the other, they trampled on the rights of the people, violated the privileges of the inferior ministers, and emulated, in their conduct and in their manner of living, the arrogance, voluptuousness, and luxury of magistrates and princes. This pernicious example was soon followed by the several ecclesiastical orders. The presbyters, in many places, assumed an equality with the bishops in point of rank and authority. We find also many complaints made of the vanity and effeminacy of the deacons.² An enormous train of superstitions was gradually substituted for genuine piety. Frequent pilgrimages were undertaken to Palestine and to the tombs of martyrs. Absurd notions and idle ceremonies multiplied every day; dust and earth brought from Palestine were sold and bought every where at enormous prices, as the most powerful remedies against the violence of wicked spirits. Pagan processions were adopted into Christian worship, and the virtues which had formerly been ascribed by the heathen to their temples, their lustrations, and the statues of their gods, were now attributed by the baptized to their churches, their holy water, and the images of saints.³ Rumors were spread

¹ Mosheim, cent. iv. part ii. chap. 2, sect. 2.

² Ib. chap. 2, sect. 8.

³ Ib. chap. 3, sect. 2.

abroad of prodigies and miracles ; robbers were converted into martyrs ; many of the monks dealt in fictitious relics, and ludicrous combats with evil spirits were exhibited. "A whole volume would be requisite to contain an enumeration of the various frauds which artful knaves practiced with success to delude the ignorant, when true religion was almost superseded by horrid superstition."¹ The number of immoral and unworthy persons bearing the Christian name began so to increase, that examples of real piety became extremely rare. When the terrors of persecution were dispelled—when the churches enjoyed the sweets of prosperity—when most of the bishops exhibited to their flocks the contagious examples of arrogance, luxury, effeminacy, hatred, and strife, with other vices too numerous to mention—when the inferior clergy fell into sloth and vain wranglings, and when multitudes were drawn into the profession of Christianity, not by the power of argument, but by the prospect of gain and the fear of punishment—then it was, indeed, no wonder that the churches were contaminated with shoals of profligates, and that the virtuous few were overwhelmed with the numbers of the wicked and licentious.² The age was sinking daily from one degree of corruption to another ; and the churches were thus prepared for that fatal heresy which at one time seemed to threaten the extermination of evangelical doctrine throughout Christendom.

After the death of Constantine, his son Constantius succeeded to the government of the Eastern provinces, and eventually became the sovereign of the whole empire. And as he, his empress, and his whole court, were Arians, he forthwith used all his influence, as the head of the church, to exterminate, as far as possible, evangelical doctrine ;³ and the whole world groaned and wondered, says St. Jerome, to find itself Arian.⁴ The tyranny of Theodosius restored the orthodoxy of the churches, but could not revive their piety ;⁵ and from that time, in union with the State, they continued to be so corrupt, that at length the profligacy,

¹ Mosheim, cent. iv. part ii. chap. 3, sect. 3.

² Ib. sect. 17.

³ Ib. chap. 5, sect. 14.

⁴ Waddington, p. 98.

⁵ Ib. p. 99.

covetousness, fraud, and arrogance of the clergy generally, from the pope to the obscurest monk, so revolted the conscience and the common sense of Europe, that in the sixteenth century it burst from this oppressive and degrading yoke.

The nature of the relation between the potentate and the priest during this period was frequently illustrated by incidents like the following. Pepin, who was mayor of the palace to Childeric III., king of France, having formed the design of dethroning his sovereign, assembled the states of the realm, A.D. 751, to whom he proposed that violent measure. They voted that the bishop of Rome must be consulted; ambassadors were, therefore, sent by Pepin to demand from Pope Zachary, "Whether the divine law did not allow a warlike people to dethrone a cowardly and indolent monarch, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule?" Zachary's answer was favorable, Childeric was deposed, and Pepin ascended his throne. Pope Stephen II. confirmed the decision of Zachary, and wanting the aid of Pepin against the Lombards, paid him a visit, A.D. 754, when he released him from his oath of allegiance to Childeric, annointed him, and crowned him.¹

But it would have been happy had the union between the secular and ecclesiastical powers been productive only of such occasional specimens of villainy on either side; but alas! for many centuries before the Reformation, it universally and constantly checked the promulgation of the Gospel. Had there been no such union in the nations of Europe, then in each kingdom peaceable subjects would have been protected in life and property, whatever their creed might have been; disturbers of the peace would have been repressed; pious and enlightened men might have preached Christ to their contemporaries without molestation; and evangelical churches, formed through their ministry, might have prevented the spiritual slavery, superstition, and demoralization, into which the churches so generally sank. But through the union, each student of the Bible, with any energy of character, was speedily arrested by the anathemas of the priesthood; and the State was ever ready to give

¹ Mosheim, cent. viii. part ii. chap. 2, sect. 7.

those anathemas effect. It was the Church which condemned Lord Cobham in England, John Huss in Bohemia, and Savonarola at Florence; but it was the State which consumed each of them in the flames. Had there been no union, Cobham would still have led on the Lollards to new successes; Huss would have still lived to confirm his disciples in the faith; and Savonarola might have reformed Italy. Devout and resolute men might have defied the malice of the priests, if the State had not placed the dungeon and the thumbscrew, the rack and the stake, at their disposal. The union, therefore, is responsible for the religious ignorance and general degradation of manners which disgraced the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

When the reformers of the sixteenth century struggled for the doctrines of the Gospel with the hierarchy and the priesthood, the union was still their greatest enemy. Unchecked by the governments of Europe, the Reformation would have been nearly universal. In Scotland the reform conquered the government; but in England the union mutilated the reform; and in France, in parts of Germany, in Spain, and in Italy, overcame and crushed it. The union alone gave teeth and claws to the two Inquisitions of Spain and Italy; and without its aid the powerful confraternity of Loyola would have been baffled. As the union had previously corrupted the churches, so at the Reformation it prevented their restoration to purity of discipline and to spiritual life.

Since that day superstition has maintained its hateful ascendancy in Europe through the union alone; and were it removed, France, Roman Catholic Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, might be pervaded in every direction by zealous evangelists.

On the other hand, it has not been less disastrous in Protestant countries. The reformers, who had a gigantic foe to grapple with, were too happy to secure the aid of their rulers, by investing them with almost all the prerogatives of which they despoiled the pope. Misled by the evangelical zeal of some leading statesmen, they vainly hoped that Protestant governments would, in successive

generations, heartily promote the progress of the Gospel, and consented to a union which has been productive of endless mischief. Ever since the union of the Church of England with its imperious and profligate head, Henry VIII., who burned alike the friends of the pope and the followers of Zuingle, because he would not endure that men should have any other religious opinions than his own, the State in England, with scarcely the exception of one brief interval, has been steadily opposed to evangelical religion. Queen Mary, though a bigoted Catholic, continued to be the legal head of the Church of England, and availed herself of the supremacy with which she was invested by the union to crush the English Reformation.

Her death afforded no unmixed benefit to the Protestant cause, as the reader may judge by the following extracts from Hallam's "Constitutional History."

The two statutes enacted in the first year of Elizabeth, commonly called the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, are the main links of the Anglican Church with the temporal constitution, *and establish the subordination and dependency of the former; the first abrogating all jurisdiction and legislative power of ecclesiastical rulers, except under authority of the Crown; and the second prohibiting all changes of rites and discipline without the approbation of Parliament.* It was the constant policy of this queen to maintain her prerogative.¹ Elizabeth, though resolute against submitting to the papal supremacy, was not so averse to all the tenets abjured by Protestants. She reproved a divine who preached against the real presence, and is even said to have used prayers to the Virgin; but her great struggle with the reformers was about images, and particularly the crucifix, which she retained with lighted tapers before it in her chapel.²

To the marriage of the clergy she retained so great an aversion, that she would never consent to repeal the statute of her sister's reign against it.³ Except Archbishop Parker, and Cox, bishop of Ely, all the most eminent churchmen, such as Jewel, Grindal, Sandys Nowell, were in favor of

¹ Vol. i. p. 231.

² Ib. p. 234.

³ Ib. p. 236.

leaving off the surplice and what were called the popish ceremonies. The queen alone was the cause of retaining those observances.¹ On refusing to wear the customary habits, Sampson, dean of Christ Church, was deprived of his deaconry.² Parker obtained from the queen a proclamation peremptorily requiring conformity in the use of the clerical vestments and other matters of discipline. The London ministers, summoned before himself and their bishop, Grindal, were called upon for a promise to comply with the legal ceremonies, which thirty-seven out of ninety-eight refused to make. They were, in consequence, suspended from their ministry. But these, unfortunately, as was the case in all this reign, were the most conspicuous both for their general character and for their talent in preaching.³ The Puritan clergy, after being excluded from their benefices, might still claim from a just government a peaceful toleration of their particular worship. This it was vain to expect from the queen's arbitrary spirit, the imperious humors of Parker, and that total disregard of the rights of conscience which was common to all parties in the sixteenth century. The first instance of actual punishment inflicted on Protestant dissenters was in June 1567, when a company of more than one hundred were seized during their religious exercises at Plummers' Hall, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison.⁴ The far greater part of the benefices of the church were supplied by conformists of very doubtful sincerity, who would resume their mass-books with more alacrity than they had cast them aside.⁵

Burnet says, on the authority of the visitors' reports, that out of 9400 beneficed clergymen, not more than about two hundred refused to conform; and he proceeds, "If a prince of another religion had succeeded, they had probably turned about again as nimbly as they had done before in Queen Mary's days." A great part of the clergy in the first part of this reign are said to have been sunk in superstition and looseness of living.⁶ Such a deficiency of Protestant clergy

¹ Vol. i. p. 238.

² Ib. p. 244.

³ Ib. p. 245.

⁴ Ib. p. 247.

⁵ Ib. p. 248.

⁶ Ib. p. 248, note.

had been experienced at the queen's accession, that for several years it was a common practice to appoint laymen, usually mechanics, to read the service in vacant churches.¹ Yet the archbishop continued to harass the Puritan ministers, suppressing their books, silencing them in churches, persecuting them in private meetings. Plain citizens, for listening to their sermons, were dragged before the high commission, and imprisoned upon any refusal to conform.²

The clergy in several dioceses set up, with encouragement from their superiors, a certain religious exercise called prophesyings. They met at appointed times to expound and discuss together particular texts of Scripture, under the presidency of a moderator appointed by the bishop. The queen entirely disliked them, and directed Parker to put them down. Prophesyings were now put down.³

Grindal, who succeeded Parker, wished to revive them. The queen, however, insisted both that the prophesyings should be discontinued and that fewer licenses for preaching should be granted. Grindal refusing to comply with this injunction, was sequestered from the exercise of his jurisdiction for about five years; and the queen, by circular letters to the bishops, commanded them to put an end to the prophesyings, which were never afterward renewed.⁴ As soon as Whitgift succeeded to the primacy, he promulgated articles for the observance of discipline; one of which prohibited all preaching, reading, or catechising in private houses, whereto any not of the same family should resort. But that which excited the loudest complaints was the subscription to three points—the queen's supremacy, the lawfulness of the common prayer, and the truth of the whole thirty-nine articles, exacted from every minister of the church.⁵ The kingdom resounded with the clamor of those who were suspended or deprived of their benefices, and of their numerous abettors. But, secure of the queen's support, Whitgift relented not a jot of his resolution.⁶

In 1583, the High Commission Court was erected, consisting of forty-four commissioners, of whom twelve were

¹ Vol. i. p. 249.

² Ib. p. 262.

³ Ib. pp. 266, 267.

⁴ Ib. pp. 267, 268.

⁵ Ib. p. 269.

⁶ Ib. pp. 269, 270, 271.

bishops, several were privy-councillors, and the rest clergymen or civilians. Power was given to any three commissioners, of whom one must be a bishop, to punish all persons absent from church, to visit and reform heresies and schisms according to law, to deprive all beneficed persons holding any doctrine contrary to the thirty-nine articles, etc., etc. Master of such tremendous machinery, the archbishop proceeded to tender the oath *ex officio* to such of the clergy as were surmised to harbor a spirit of puritanical disaffection. This procedure consisted in a series of interrogations, so comprehensive as to embrace the whole scope of clerical uniformity, yet so precise and minute as to leave no room for evasion, to which the suspected party was bound to answer upon oath.¹ Pamphlets, chiefly anonymous, were rapidly circulated throughout the kingdom, inveighing against the prelacy. Of these libels, the most famous went under the name of Martin Mar-prelate.² Strong suspicions having fallen on Penry, a young Welshman, he was tried for another pamphlet containing some sharp reflections on the queen herself, and was executed.³ Udal, a puritan minister, fell into the grasp of the same statute for an alleged libel on the bishops. His trial, like most other political trials of the age, disgraces the name of English justice. It consisted mainly in a pitiful attempt by the court to entrap him into a confession that the imputed libel was of his writing, as to which their proof was deficient. He avoided the snare, but was convicted, and died of the effects of confinement.⁴ Cartwright, with several of his sect, were even summoned before the ecclesiastical commission, where, refusing to inculcate themselves by taking the oath *ex officio*, they were committed to the Fleet.⁵ Morice, attorney of the court of wards, having attacked the legality of this oath *ex officio* in the House of Commons, and brought in a bill to take it away, the queen put a stop to the proceeding; and Morice lay some time in prison for his boldness.⁶ In 1593, the court procured an act which sentenced to imprisonment any person

¹ Vol. i. pp. 271, 272, 273.

² Ib. p. 277.

³ Ib. p. 278.

⁴ Ib. p. 279.

⁵ Ib. p. 280.

⁶ Ib. p. 287.

above the age of sixteen who should forbear for the space of a month to repair to some church, until he should make such open declaration of conformity as the act appoints. Those who refused to submit to these conditions were to abjure the realm; and if they should return without the queen's license, to suffer death as felons.¹ Multitudes fled to Holland from the rigor of the bishops in enforcing this statute.² Yet, after forty years of constantly aggravated molestation of the non-conforming clergy, their numbers were become greater, their popularity more deeply rooted, their enmity to the established order more irreconcilable.³

On the other hand, the prelates of the English Church, while they inflicted so many severities on others, had not always cause to exult in their own condition. Cecil surrounded his mansion-house at Burleigh with estates once belonging to the see of Peterborough. Hatton built his house in Holborn on the Bishop of Ely's garden; and Cox, on making resistance to this spoliation, received the following letter from the queen:—"Proud prelate, you know what you were before I made you what you are. If you do not immediately comply with my request, by God, I will unfrock you.—ELIZABETH." After his death she kept the see vacant eighteen years.⁴ She suspended Fletcher, bishop of London, of her own authority, only for marrying "a fine lady and a widow;" and Aylmer having preached too vehemently against female vanity in dress, which came home to the queen's conscience, she told her ladies that if the bishop held more discourse on such matters she would fit him for heaven, but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him. And in her speech to Parliament, on closing the session of 1584, when many complaints against the rulers of the church had rung in her ears, she told the bishops that if they did not amend what was wrong, she meant to depose them.⁵

This sketch is sufficient to show that throughout this reign the bishops and clergy were kept by the union in a state of servile subjection to the Crown; that the most

¹ Vol. i. p. 289.

² Ib. p. 290.

³ Ib. p. 306.

⁴ Ib. p. 304.

⁵ Ib. p. 305.

pious persons in the nation were exposed by it to severe persecution, and that it steadily repressed evangelical religion.

The accession of James I. to the supremacy, in virtue of the union, brought no advantage to evangelical religion. On his way to London, the puritan clergy presented to him a petition, signed by 825 ministers from twenty-five counties, praying for the removal of certain abuses from the church.¹ The puritans seem to have flattered themselves that he would favor their sect, on the credit of some strong assertions he had occasionally made of his adherence to the Scotch kirk. James, however, was all his life rather a bold liar than a good dissembler.² He showed no disposition to treat these petitioners with favor. His measures toward the nonconformist party had evidently been resolved upon before he summoned a few of their divines to the famous conference at Hampton Court. In the accounts that we read of this meeting, we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behavior of the king, and at the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the custom of servile natures, with insolence toward their opponents.³ While Dr. Raynolds was speaking, the king broke out into a flame—"They were aiming," he said, "at a Scots presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my council; therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will, perhaps, hearken to you, for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath; but till you find I grow lazy, pray let that alone. Well, Doctor, have you any thing else to offer?" "No more, if it please your majesty." "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of this land, or else worse."⁴ Bishop Bancroft fell on his knees and said, "I protest my heart melteth for joy that Almighty God,

¹ Hallam, i. p. 403.

² *Ib.* p. 404.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Neal's "History of the Puritans," part ii. chap. i.

of his singular mercy, has given us such a king as since Christ's time has not been." "Never," said Chancellor Egerton, "have I seen the king and the priest so fully united in one person."¹ When the king said he approved of the wisdom of the law in making the oath *ex officio*, the archbishop was so transported as to cry out, "Undoubtedly your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit."² Mr. Chadderton fell on his knees, and humbly prayed that the surplice and cross might not be urged on some godly ministers in Lancashire; but the king replied, with a stern countenance, "I will have none of this arguing, therefore let them conform, and that quickly too, or they shall hear of it."³ The king soon afterward put forth a proclamation, requiring all ecclesiastical and civil officers to do their duty, by enforcing conformity.⁴ He had already strictly enjoined the bishops to proceed against all the clergy who did not observe the prescribed order—a command which Bancroft, who about this time followed Whitgift in the primacy, did not wait to have repeated.⁵ But the most enormous outrage on the civil rights of these men, was the commitment to prison of ten among those who had presented the millenary petition; the judges having declared in the Star-chamber that it was an offense finable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony.⁶ The doctrine of the king's absolute power beyond the law, had become current with all who sought his favor, and especially with the high-church party.⁷ The real aim of the clergy, in thus enormously enhancing the pretensions of the crown, was to gain its sanction and support for their own. Schemes of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, hardly less extensive than had warmed the imagination of Becket, now floated before the eyes of Bancroft.⁸ Dr. Cowell, in a law-dictionary, dedicated to Bancroft, said, under the title king, "He is above the law by his absolute power, and though, for the better and equal course in making laws, he do admit the three estates into council, yet this,

¹ Neal's "History of the Puritans," part ii. chap. i. p. 17.

² Ib. p. 18. ³ Ib.

⁴ Hallam, vol. ii. p. 405.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ Ib. p. 406.

⁷ Ib. p. 438. ⁸ Ib. p. 440.

in divers learned men's opinion, is not of constraint, but by his own benignity, or by reason of the promise made upon oath at the time of his coronation. And though at his coronation he took an oath not to alter the laws of the land, yet, this oath notwithstanding, he may alter or suspend any particular law that seemeth hurtful to the public estate."¹ Such monstrous positions, from the mouth of a man of learning, who was surmised to have been instigated, as well as patronized, by the archbishop, and of whose book the king was reported to have spoken in terms of eulogy, gave very just scandal to the House of Commons.²

About this time was published, with the assent of the king, the book of Canons, which is still binding on the clergy. Canon fourth enacts, that whoever shall affirm that the Book of Common-prayer containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures, shall be excommunicated. The fifth excommunicates any person who asserts that any of the thirty-nine articles are, in any part, superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto. The eighth excommunicates any one who affirms that the form and manner of making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth any thing in it repugnant to the word of God. The eleventh excommunicates those who affirm that nonconformist congregations may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches. By excommunication the puritans were rendered incapable of suing for their debts, were liable to imprisonment for life, were denied Christian burial, and as far as the church could inflict it, even excluded from heaven.³ Archbishop Bancroft now revived the persecution of the puritans, by enforcing the strict observance of the festivals of the church, reviving the use of copes, surplices, caps, hoods, etc. By these methods of severity, above three hundred puritan ministers were silenced or deprived; some of whom were excommunicated and cast into prison; others were forced to leave the country.⁴ As another mode of insulting and harassing the

¹ Hallam, vol. ii. p. 442.

² Ib. p. 443.

³ Neal, part ii. p. 32.

⁴ Ib. pp. 35, 40.

evangelical clergy, the king published a declaration to be read in churches, permitting all lawful recreations on Sunday after divine service, such as dancing, archery, May-games, morrice-dances, and other usual sports.¹ But this declaration was not enforced till the following reign. The court of James I. was incomparably the most disgraceful scene of profligacy which this country has ever witnessed, equal to that of Charles II. in the laxity of female virtue, and without any sort of parallel in some other respects. Gross drunkenness is imputed to some of the ladies who acted in the court pageants.² According to the "Pictorial History of England," king James had as little real religion of any kind as Elizabeth herself. In the notion of both the one and the other the Church was an engine of State, and nothing else; and in this feeling both were naturally much more inclined toward popery than puritanism.³ By degrees he gave himself up to all kinds of licentiousness. His language was obscene, he was a profane swearer, and would often be drunk. He broke through all the laws of the land, and was as absolute a tyrant as his want of courage would admit; and was, in the opinion of Bishop Burnet, "the scorn of his age, a mere pedant, without judgment, courage, or steadiness, his reign being a continued course of mean practices."⁴ To such hands did the union commit the government of the churches of Christ in this country.

It was very unfortunate for Charles I., the next head of the Church, that the chosen friend and companion of his youth was one of the most profligate men of his day. The following is the account given of his friendship, by Brodie. James I., from his immoderate attachment to field-sports, spent much of his time at Newmarket. There he went to the theater to see a farce called "Ignoramus," in ridicule of the common law, for which he embraced every opportunity of expressing contempt, because it limited his prerogative; it being part of his doctrine that

¹ Hallam, vol. i. p. 545.

² Ib. p. 452, note.

³ Pictorial History of England, vol. iii. p. 458.

⁴ Neal, part ii. p. 129.

"the king is to settle the law of God, and his judges to interpret the law of the king." At the theater he saw young George Villiers, who immediately becoming his favorite, was, in a short time, created a baron, a viscount, an earl, a marquis, lord high admiral of England, lord warden of the cinque ports, and master of the horse; and disposed of all the offices of the kingdom without a rival.¹ It is humiliating to think that this minion's heels were tracked with spaniel-like observance by the chief of the Church and of the nobility, who were content to be called his creatures, professing an attachment bordering on adoration.² It is impossible to read Heylin's "Life of Laud" and Laud's Diary, &c., &c., without insuperable loathing.³ As neither talents nor virtue had raised Villiers, so he had little of either, though more of the first than the last; and as his heart was daily corrupted, so was his judgment perverted by his situation.⁴ To such a height of presumption was this minion grown, that he not only used language to Charles now only to be found in the lowest class of the community, but was once very near striking him.⁵ Yet, to the general astonishment, he no sooner stooped to court his highness, than he acquired over him the most uncontrolled ascendancy.⁶ Such a friendship could not be favorable to the morals of Charles, and he is described by Milton to have been at this period of his life *flagitiis omnibus coopertum*, loaded with every vice.⁷ This was a bad preparation for the supreme government of the churches of Christ in this country.

The next step in his history was his union with Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII., then king of France, to whom he was married by proxy before his father was buried. She arrived at Dover, June 13, 1625, and brought with her a long train of priests, for whose devotion a chapel was fitted up in the king's house at St. James's.⁸ The

¹ Brodie, "History of the British Empire," vol. ii. pp. 12-19.

² Ib. p. 19.

³ Ib. p. 20.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ Ib. p. 21.

⁶ Ib. p. 22.

⁷ Ib. p. 45, note, where proofs of this fact are adduced.

⁸ Neal, ii. p. 133.

queen, by degrees, obtained a plenitude of power over the king. His majesty held her in perfect adoration, and would do nothing without her.¹ The king's match with this lady was a greater judgment to the nation than the plague, which then raged in the land : for, considering the malignity of the popish religion, the influence of the queen over her husband, and the share she must needs have in the education of her children, it was easy to foresee it might prove very fatal to our English prince and people, and lay in a vengeance to future generations.² Thus the education of Charles for the government of the churches of Christ, which was begun by a profligate favorite, was continued by a Roman Catholic wife.

The clergy whom Charles most trusted were little likely to counteract these influences. The bishops were many of them gross sycophants of Buckingham. Mede says, "I am sorry to hear they (the bishops) are so habituated to flattery that they seem not to know of any other duty that belongs to them."³ Two sermons, by Sibthorp and Mainwaring, excited particular attention. These men, eager for preferment, which they knew the readiest method to attain, taught that the king might take the subjects' money at his pleasure, and that no one might refuse his demand on penalty of damnation. "Parliaments," said Mainwaring, "were not ordained to contribute any right to the king, but for the more equal imposing and more easy exacting of that which unto kings doth appertain by natural and original law and justice as their proper inheritance annexed to their imperial crowns from their birth." For refusing to license Sibthorp's sermon, Archbishop Abbot was suspended from the exercise of his jurisdiction by the king, who gave Sibthorp some preferment ; and Mainwaring, who was impeached by the House of Commons, and condemned to pay a fine of £1000, and to be suspended for three years from his ministry, was almost immediately pardoned by the king, and afterward made a bishop.⁴

But the person who proved in a far more eminent degree

¹ Clarendon.

² Bishop Kennet.

³ Hallam, vol. i. p. 570, note.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 569, 570.

than any other individual the evil genius of this unhappy sovereign was Laud. His talents seem to have been hardly above mediocrity. There can not be a more contemptible work than his *Diary*. But having courted the favor of Buckingham, he rose to the see of Canterbury on Abbot's death, in 1633.¹ He had placed before his eyes the aggrandizement first of the church and next of the royal prerogative as his end and aim in every action. "Though not destitute of religion," says Hallam, "it was so subordinate to worldly interest, and so blended with pride, that he became an intolerant persecutor of the puritan clergy; and being subject, as his friends call it, to some infirmities of temper—that is, choleric, vindictive, harsh, and even cruel, to a great degree, he not only took a prominent share in the severities of the Star-chamber, but, as his correspondence shows, perpetually lamented that he was restrained from going further lengths."² Even at college he was suspected of popery; to such height did he carry the pretensions of the clergy, with all the tenets of the Romish religion, except the mere supremacy of the pope. The use of images, the tutelar protection of saints and angels, the invocation of saints, the adoration of the altar, the real presence, auricular confession, and absolution, were among his favorite principles.³ In 1605 he filled the office of chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, who had induced Lady Rich to desert her husband and children. In these circumstances Laud was base enough to sanction the adultery by performing for them the marriage ceremony.⁴ Placed at the head of the ecclesiastical and civil government, he betrayed all the insolence of a little mind intoxicated with undeserved prosperity. He assumed the state of a prince, and by the ridiculous haughtiness of his manners disgusted men of rank and influence.⁵ He aggravated the invidiousness of his situation, and gave an astonishing proof of his influence by placing Juxon, bishop of London, a creature of his own, in the greatest of all posts, that of lord high-treasurer.⁶

¹ Hallam, vol. ii. p. 53.

² *Ib.* p. 53.

³ Brodie, vol. ii. p. 238.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 240.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 247.

⁶ Hallam, vol. ii. p. 55.

Church affairs were an early subject of consideration in Charles' cabinet. Bishop Laud, who in the late king's time had delivered to the duke a little book about doctrinal puritanism, now also gave him a schedule containing the names of ecclesiastics under the letters O and P; O standing for orthodox, P for puritan, in order that it might be shown to the king, and preferment, of course, confined to the former. Under the puritan party were comprehended in the court register all who refused to subscribe to every doctrinal innovation of the king and the bishops; together with those that were known merely as defenders of the political rights of the people.¹ But the puritans were doomed throughout this reign to much worse evils than the loss of preferment. Leighton, a Scotch divine, having published an angry libel against the hierarchy, was sentenced to be publicly whipped at Westminster and set in the pillory, to have one side of his nose slit, one ear cut off, and one side of his cheek branded with a hot iron; to have the whole of this repeated the next week at Cheapside, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment in the Fleet. Lilburne, for dispersing pamphlets against the bishops, was whipped from the Fleet prison to Westminster, then set in the pillory, and treated afterward with great cruelty. Prynne, a lawyer of uncommon erudition, and a zealous puritan, had printed a bulky volume, called "*Histriomastix*," full of invectives against the theater. This was construed to be seditious, and the Star-chamber adjudged him to stand twice in the pillory, to be branded in the forehead, to lose both his ears, to pay a fine of £5000, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. The dogged puritan employed the leisure of a jail in writing a fresh libel against the hierarchy. For this, with two other delinquents of the same class, Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, he stood again at the bar of that terrible tribunal. Prynne lost the remainder of his ears in the pillory; and the punishment was inflicted on them all with extreme and designed cruelty; which they endured, as martyrs always endure suffering, so heroically, as to excite a deep impression of sympathy and

¹ Hallam, vol. ii. p. 50.

resentment in the assembled multitude. They were sentenced to perpetual confinement in distant prisons.¹ Besides reviving the prosecutions for non-conformity in their utmost strictness, wherein many of the other bishops vied with their primate, he most injudiciously—not to say wickedly—endeavored, by innovations of his own and by exciting alarms in the susceptible consciences of pious men, to raise up new victims whom he might oppress. Those who made any difficulties about his novel ceremonies, or who preached on the Calvinistic side, were harassed by the High Commission Court as if they had been actual schismatics. The most obnoxious of these prosecutions were for refusing to read what was called the “Book of Sports”—a proclamation that a great variety of pastimes might be used on Sundays after evening service.² The precise clergy refused, in general, to comply with the requisition, and were suspended or deprived in consequence. Thirty of them were excommunicated in the diocese of Norwich.³ The resolution so evidently taken by the court to admit of no half conformity, especially after Laud had obtained an unlimited sway over the king’s mind, convinced the puritans that England could no longer afford them an asylum. Multitudes now emigrated to America. At length men of a higher rank than the first colonists, now became hopeless alike of the civil and religious liberties of England, men of capacious and commanding minds, formed to be the legislators and generals of an infant republic—the wise and cautious Lord Say, the brave, open, and enthusiastic Lord Brooke, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Hampden, ashamed of a country for whose rights he had fought alone, Cromwell, panting with energies that he could neither control nor explain, and whose unconquerable fire was still wrapped in smoke to every eye but that of his kinsman Hampden—were preparing to embark for America, when Laud, for his own and his master’s curse, procured an order of council to stop their departure.⁴ The Church now made rapid progress toward Romanism. Pictures were set up or repaired; the com-

¹ Hallam, vol. ii. pp. 50–52.

² Ib. p. 77.

³ Ib. p. 76.

⁴ Ib. pp. 79, 80.

munion-table took the name and position of an altar ; it was sometimes made of stone ; obeisances were made to it ; the crucifix was sometimes placed upon it ; the dress of the officiating priests became more gaudy ; churches were consecrated with strange and mystical pageantry. The doctrine of a real presence, distinguishable only by vagueness of definition from that of the Church of Rome, was generally held. Montagu, bishop of Chichester, went a considerable length toward admitting the invocation of saints ; prayers for the dead were vindicated by many : in fact, there was hardly any distinctive opinion of the Church of Rome which had not its abettors among the bishops, or those who wrote under their patronage ;¹ and we now know that the views of the party in the English Church went almost to an entire dereliction of the Protestant doctrine.²

Thus the union, during the first three reigns after the Reformation, led to the systematic persecution of the most zealous servants of Christ in the country, and conducted the churches within the Establishment under the regal episcopate far back into the slough of false doctrine, superstition, bigotry, and spiritual torpor, from which the reformers had nobly struggled to extricate them.

Of the two sovereigns who, after Charles I., successively exercised the regal episcopate conferred on them by the union, I need say very little. The character of the first, and the religious opinions of the second, made it certain that they must employ whatever influence they derived from the union against vital religion. The union had perceptibly corrupted the Presbyterian and Independent churches during the reign of the Protector ; but at his death, its influence upon the churches became much more disastrous. The new government assumed power only to persecute evangelical religion. " Then came those days, never to be recalled without a blush, the days of servitude without loyalty, and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot, and

¹ Hallam, vol. ii. pp. 85-87.

² *Ib.* p. 91.

the slave. The king cringed to his rival that he might trample on his people ; sunk into a viceroy of France, and pocketed, with complacent infamy, her degrading insults and her more degrading gold. The caresses of harlots and the jests of buffoons regulated the measures of a government which had just ability enough to deceive, and just religion enough to persecute. The principles of liberty were the scoff of every grinning courtier, and the anathema marantha of every fawning dean. In every high place worship was paid to Charles and James, Belial and Moloch ; and England propitiated those obscene and cruel idols with the blood of her best and bravest children. Crime succeeded to crime, and disgrace to disgrace, till the race accursed of God and man was a second time driven forth to wander on the face of the earth, and to be a by-word and a shaking of the head to the nations.”¹

The results of the union between revengeful ecclesiastics and a profligate prince during the reign of Charles II., are such as can not be learned without indignation. In England nearly two thousand of the best ministers in the country were driven from their parishes, and then pursued with merciless severity if they dared to exercise their ministry elsewhere. Peaceable and devoted men like Alliene and Flavel filled the prisons. Men like Baxter, who were qualified by their wisdom and piety to instruct distant generations, were insulted and harassed by profligates like Judge Jeffreys, who were the personification of every vice. In England, Archbishop Sheldon tore nearly two thousand godly ministers from their congregations, to be hunted by Jeffreys and other hostile magistrates like wild beasts. In Scotland, Archbishop Sharp effected the expulsion of four hundred of the best ministers from their parishes ; and then Lauderdale, with his infamous agents, Turner, Dalziel, and Bannatyne, pursued them with so much cruelty, that the country rose in arms against the government, and the archbishop was murdered by men whom his oppressions had goaded to madness.² While the king was sanctioning all

¹ Edinburgh Review, No. lxxxiv. p. 337.

² Hetherington, “History of the Church of Scotland,” pp. 371–456.

this profligacy by his example, and this persecution of godliness by his authority, the churches of Christ united with the State still allowed him the right to superintend their doctrine and their discipline, and continued to style him in their prayers "our religious and gracious king."

The next head which the churches received from the union was a keen Roman Catholic, one whose efforts both in the legislature and in the administration were directed toward the re-establishment of Romanism on the ruins of the Protestant faith.

Thus, with the exception of Edward VI., who died when still a boy, all the sovereigns whom the union placed over the churches, from Henry VIII. to James II., during a space of 140 years, employed their terrible supremacy to extinguish vital religion.

After the Revolution, there continued to be a steady declension of the nation in vital godliness. The union seemed to have stricken religion to death. "The low Arminianism and intolerant bigotry of Laud paved the way for a change which was not a little aided by the unbounded licentiousness and profligacy which overspread the kingdom after the restoration. From that time, the idea commonly entertained in England of a perfect sermon was that of a discourse upon some moral topic, clear, correct, and argumentative, in the delivery of which the preacher must be free from all suspicion of being moved himself, or of intending to produce emotions in his hearers. This singular model of pulpit eloquence was carried to the utmost perfection; so that while the bar, the parliament, and the theater, frequently agitated and inflamed their respective auditories, the church was the only place where the most feverish sensibility was sure of being laid to rest. This inimitable apathy in the mode of imparting religious instruction, combined with the utter neglect of whatever is most touching or alarming in the discoveries of the Gospel, produced their natural effect of extinguishing devotion in the Established Church, and of leaving it to be possessed by the dissenters. From these causes the people gradually became alienated from the articles of the Church, eternal concerns

dropped out of the mind, and what remained of religion was confined to an attention to a few forms and ceremonies. Such points as the corruption of human nature, the necessity of the new birth, and justification by faith, were either abandoned to oblivion, or held up to ridicule and contempt.

The consequence was that the creed established by law had no sort of influence in forming the sentiments of the people; the pulpit completely vanquished the desk; piety and puritanism were confounded in one common reproach; an almost pagan darkness in the concerns of salvation prevailed, and the English became the most irreligious people upon earth.

“Such was the situation of things when Whitefield and Wesley made their appearance, who, whatever failings the severest criticism can discover in their character, will be hailed by posterity as the second reformers of England.”¹

Roused by the zeal of the Methodists, many of the clergy of the Establishment became earnest, evangelical men, upon whom depended, under God, the task of recalling that immense association of churches to spiritual life. To promote that spiritual life is the avowed object of the union. If the union has any value, it ought to be seen in its facilitating the ministry of devoted pastors. But from the days of Wesley to the present time, its influence has been decidedly to discountenance their efforts. We may judge of that influence by the sentiments of the great ministers of the Crown, who nominate our bishops, and preside over our ecclesiastical legislation. Few ministers of the Crown have had better opportunities of knowing spiritual religion than Mr. Pitt, who was the friend of Wilberforce; and few have been possessed of equal ability to turn those opportunities to account. When Mr. Wilberforce became, by the grace of God, a real Christian, Mr. Pitt “thought that he was out of spirits, that company and conversation would be the best way of dissipating his impressions;” and in two hours’ conversation with him on the subject, he tried to “reason him out of his convictions,” and thus gave Mr. Wilberforce occasion to remark, “The fact is, he was so

¹ Hall’s Works, vol. iv. pp. 84–86.

absorbed in politics that he had never given himself time for due reflection on religion.”¹ But though he was too busy to be religious, too much engrossed with the interests of time to prepare for eternity, too anxious about what was comparatively trivial to think of the one thing needful, too much absorbed in the service of an earthly sovereign to serve his Creator and Redeemer, he was not too busy to contract rooted prejudices against the only men within the Establishment who were zealously preaching Christ, and promoting evangelical religion. When Mr. Pitt, by the advice of Bishop Prettyman, was about to support in Parliament a bill which would materially have restricted the freedom of dissenters, and, in the opinion of Mr. Wilberforce, would have thrown some of their most distinguished ministers into prison, Mr. Wilberforce sought an opportunity of discussing the matter with the premier, and has thus recorded the result. “We spent some hours together at a *tête-à-tête* supper, and I confess I never till then knew how deep a prejudice his mind had conceived against the class of clergy to whom he knew me to be attached. It was in vain that I mentioned to him Mr. Robinson of Leicester, Mr. Richardson of York, Mr. Milner of Hull, Mr. Atkinson of Leeds, and others of similar principles; his language was such as to imply that he thought ill of their moral character.”² Mr. Pitt’s prejudices, however, against evangelical religion, did not destroy his zeal for the Establishment; and as became the patron of the union, he decidedly advocated the maintenance of orthodoxy by persecution. A petition, praying for a repeal of the penal statutes against those who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, having been presented to the House of Commons, and supported by Mr. Fox, who contended justly, that all restraint, and all interference with respect to religious opinions, however opposite those opinions might be to the established religion of the country, or however dangerous they might be thought to the public tranquillity, were unjust and indefensible, Mr. Pitt replied, that were these statutes to be repealed, it might be inferred that the House was indifferent

¹ Life of Wilberforce, vol. i. pp. 93, 94.

² Ib. vol. ii. p. 364.

to the Established Church, for whose protection they were originally enacted, and upon whose enemies they still operated as some restraint. The repeal of these statutes might be considered by the public as the first step toward a gradual removal of all those barriers which our ancestors had erected for the safety of our civil and ecclesiastical constitution. The motion was rejected by a majority of 142 to 63.¹

Here our review of the experience of mankind respecting the union shall cease ; its influence on Catholic kingdoms, its connection with the recent dismemberment of the Church of Scotland, its support to rationalism and superstition in France and elsewhere, together with its working at present in this country, may be better considered in the second part of this work, which is dedicated to the examination of its effects. Even the slight foregoing sketch is sufficient to convince unprejudiced persons that the union has been in many countries, and through many ages, the alliance of fraud and force to degrade the nations ; the compact of the priest and the potentate to crush the rights of conscience ; the combination of regal and prelatic tyranny to repress true religion.

The effects of the union have been so palpably and universally bad, as to render positive evidence on the side of freedom unnecessary ; still, as there are some persons to whom unknown possibilities of evil seem worse than any amount of existing evil, and who think that the union could not have been so general, unless there had been a real necessity for its existence, let us briefly notice the experience of some free churches.

The churches of the first three centuries were free. Unsalaried by the State, they could determine their creed, organize their discipline, and choose their pastors, according to their pleasure ; each church, supporting its ministers, was entirely independent of external control. And in this state of poverty and freedom they so proclaimed the truth, and so recommended it by their lives, that their numbers and influence continued to increase, till the Emperor Con-

¹ Life of Pitt, by Bishop Tomline, vol. ii. pp. 451-454.

stantine found it expedient, for the establishment of his throne, to profess himself a Christian.

During the ages of defection from truth and duty, which followed the union between the Church and State, effected by that monarch, one community alone, which has preserved the appropriate motto, "*Lux in tenebris*," held forth the word of life to the population round it. In the valleys which lie between Mont Cenis and Mont Viso, in the southeastern declivities of the Cottian Alps, a few Christians, refusing to wear the yoke of the Church of Rome, were also happily saved from union with the State. The churches formed by these peasants of the Alps, were almost the only ones which, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, retained sound doctrine, simplicity of worship, and spiritual life. And to this day, notwithstanding the periods of declension to which every church, alas! is prone under every system, they remain the only evangelical churches in Italy.

While they were preserving the doctrine of the gospel in Italy, another free church rose on the eastern frontier of Saxony. At the close of the seventeenth century, when the Christians of Austrian Silesia were cruelly harassed by the Church in union with the State, a few of the persecuted peasants sought refuge in Saxony, under the protection of Count Zinzendorf. June 17, 1722, they cut down the first tree in a forest on the road between Zittau and Lobau, where they raised the first wood house of the village of Herrnhut.¹ Eighteen other emigrants soon joined them;² and for ten years these emigrations for liberty of conscience continued, till some hundreds of these poor and persecuted followers of Christ had built for themselves the village of Herrnhut.³ In 1731, when their numbers amounted only to six hundred, they were visited by Anthony, a negro, who described to them the melancholy state of his fellow-slaves in the West Indies.⁴ Moved

¹ Bost, "Hist. de l'Eglise des Frères," &c. vol. i. pp. 256-265.

² Ib. p. 322.

³ Ib. p. 354.

⁴ Ib. vol. ii. pp. 134-137. Holmes's "Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren," Introduction, p. 3.

by that recital, two of the brethren offered to go as missionaries to the island of St. Thomas ; and the church having approved of their design, they left Herrnhut, Aug. 21, 1732 ; and, October 8, they embarked at Copenhagen for that island.¹ The zeal which was thus excited in the church continued to increase, and within ten years did those poor exiles send missionaries to St. Thomas, to St. Croix, to Greenland, to Surinam, to Berbice, to several Indian tribes in North America, to the Negroes in South Carolina, to Lapland, to Tartary, to Algiers, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to Ceylon.² Since that time their missionary efforts have so increased, that at this moment their 282 missionaries have 64,268 Negroes, North American Indians, Greenlanders, Esquimaux, and Hottentots, under regular Christian instruction, of whom 20,033 are communicants under strict discipline.³ As the number of the United Brethren does not much exceed 10,000, the number of their converts compared with their own number is so large, that if all the established churches in union with the European States had labored with an assiduity and success equal to theirs, nearly the whole heathen world would at this moment be under regular Christian education.

Great as are the services which have been rendered to the cause of the Redeemer by that simple and fervent community, they have in one respect, at least, been surpassed by the free Protestant churches of France. I do not reckon it as the higher glory of these churches that they could count among their members Sully, Coligni, and Andelot, D'Aubigné, and Duplessis Mornay, a band of companions more distinguished for virtue and for valor, than any equal number of contemporary soldiers and statesmen in any period of French history ; I will not dwell on the piety and talent of their ministers, Du Moulin, Du Bosc, Morus, Daillé, Drelincourt, Claude, Jurieu, Saurin,

¹ Bost, "Hist. de l'Eglise des Frères," &c. vol. ii. p. 146.

² Holmes's "Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren," Introduction, p. 3.

³ Twenty-ninth Report of the London Association in aid of the Moravian Missions, Appendix A.

Abbadie, &c., &c., whose writings have enriched our Protestant literature ; but I allude to their sufferings for the sake of Christ.

The following are some among the numerous edicts by which Louis XIV., the licentious slave of a Jesuit confessor and abandoned mistresses, sought, as the head of the union between Church and State, to exterminate the Protestantism of his kingdom. In 1669, his subjects were forbidden to quit the kingdom, on pain of confiscation of goods, &c. &c. In 1680, Protestant children of seven years old were allowed, on abjuring their religion against the wishes of their parents, to leave them, and to demand from them a legal maintenance. In 1683, the reformed worship was forbidden in all the episcopal cities of the empire, and all books against the Roman Catholic religion were likewise prohibited. At length, October, 1685, appeared the Edict of Revocation, by which Protestant temples were demolished, Protestant worship was forbidden, Protestant ministers were banished the kingdom ; no other Protestant might leave the kingdom on pain of condemnation to the galleys ; the children of Protestants were to be brought up as Catholics ; and the goods of those who did not conform within four months were confiscated.¹ Next year was added a decree, addressed to the king's attorneys (*procureurs royaux*), to seize Protestant children above five years of age, and to place them under the care of Catholics. May, 1686, the king decreed that every Protestant minister apprehended in France should be executed ; those who assisted a minister should be sent to the galleys, or imprisoned for life ; 5500 livres were to be given to each informer ; and all persons detected and taken in the act of assembling for Protestant worship were to suffer death.² Multitudes of Protestants conformed to the established religion ; many more contrived to leave the kingdom ; and at length, the worn-out debauchee coined a medal to celebrate his triumph as head of Church and State over "the extinct heresy."³ But the same year in which the edict

¹ Histoire des Eglises du Désert, par Charles Coquerel, vol. i. pp. 41-55.

² Ib. pp. 56, 57.

³ Ib. p. 31.

of Nantes was thus savagely revoked, the churches of the desert began to assemble in the mountains of Languedoc. The same month in which the temple at Charenton was demolished, the religious assemblies of the Cevenols met under the vault of heaven; and the same year in which Louis the debauchee expired, glorying in his abolition of the Protestant worship, did a noble peasant youth collect a few preachers in the caverns of the Cevennes, and there undertake, in the name of God, the revival of the crushed and bleeding churches of France.¹ Anthony Court, born at Villeneuve-de-Berg, in the Vivarais, in 1696, was only seventeen years old when he began to preach to his fellow Protestants in their nocturnal meetings. To intrepid courage and consummate prudence he added surprising bodily strength, which enabled him to support the greatest fatigue, and he devoted all his powers of mind and body to serve the Redeemer, with an integrity which nothing could tempt, and a faith which no difficulties could overcome.² Persecution had driven the mountaineers to rebellion, and in the war of the Cevennes religion had too much degenerated into fanaticism. Prophets took the place of preachers, and discipline was necessarily lost. Their valor was incredible, their perseverance heroic, but their vengeance was often bloody; they became lawless warriors rather than meek disciples of Christ; and the reformed churches of France seemed near extinction. August 21st, 1715, Anthony assembled a few of his brethren for consultation, elders were appointed, rules were laid down for the admission of candidates to the pastoral office, a strict discipline was established, and the churches soon began to recover order and force.³ Year by year they augmented the number of their members; the synod grew in number, and the assemblies became more numerous.⁴ Though their ministers were unlettered, fervency and strong sense supplied the lack of learning. Though their religious books had been seized, they knew the Psalms by heart, and had thoroughly studied the Bible.⁵ Their meetings took place by night,

¹ Coquerel, pp. 60, 64, 99.

² Ib. p. 21.

³ Ib. pp. 32, 28, 105.

⁴ Ib. pp. 101-105.

⁵ Ib. p. 111.

in caverns, in woods, on the wide heath, or under the shelter of rocks, far from any human dwelling. To attend them exposed the hearer to the galleys, and the preacher to death. Fanatic priests and fierce magistrates, with a brutal soldiery under their command, employed a thousand stratagems to surprise them ; and the police of persecution was spread like a network over the whole country.⁴ Generally, their precautions enabled them to elude the vigilance of their oppressors ; the place of meeting was announced to the brethren by faithful men, who visited them in their dwellings, and brave and prudent guides escorted the pastor to the spot by night along concealed paths. The brethren in the country communicated with the brethren in the towns. Every night, on these occasions, the pastor changed his lodging ; and his brethren counted it an honor to welcome him at the risk of their own lives. When they were assembled, scouts on the neighboring heights warned them of the approach of the enemy, and thus often they escaped discovery. But if persecution raged too severely, the meetings were discontinued, and the churches seemed to have vanished, while every family, by reading of the Scriptures and by domestic worship, cherished its faith and piety for a happier day. Thus their constancy triumphed over the savage efforts of the Church and State during half a century to destroy their property, their religion, and their existence.²

Under the regency of Philip, duke of Orleans, the persecutions were relaxed ; but no sooner did Louis XV. attain his majority, than he thundered forth a decree against the Protestants, which equaled in fierceness those of Louis XIV., and surpassed them in barbarous ingenuity.³ Notwithstanding, however, the rigor of the government, the churches still grew in numbers and in courage. Pastors who loved the Redeemer, because he had loved them, braved the fear of death, that they might preach the salvation by his blood. Court preached through the churches of Languedoc ; Chapel sought out the scattered Protestants of Poitou and Santonge ; and Roger executed the same dan-

¹ Coquerel, i. pp. 19, 113.

² Ib. pp. 112, 113.

³ Ib. pp. 151, 157.

gerous office in Dauphiné. In some places the congregation amounted to three thousand persons ; peasants, bourgeois, and even nobles, standing side by side. Numbers watched with eagerness the day of the pastor's arrival ; for they felt a hunger and thirst for the word of God. The bold were warned to be prudent ; the timid were animated to make a frank profession of their faith ; they read the Scriptures, they prayed and they received the Supper of the Lord together. Sometimes the moon shone out on the silent numbers who were listening to the pastor's words, and sometimes the tempest mingled its blasts and its torrents with their enthusiastic hymns.¹ But the pastors were too few ; and since Court could not find pastors he must make them. Of all the exiled ministers none would return to that scene of danger ; but pious youths, who felt themselves ready for martyrdom (*se sentaient la vocation pour le martyre*) were taken from the plough and from the workshop, and as they could not be educated in France, they were sent to a new school of theology opened for them by Court at Lausanne,² whence they returned to labor and martyrdom. The 30th of November, 1728, Alexander Roussel was martyred at Montpellier. The 22d of January, Stephen Arnaud was executed at Alais.³ April, 22, 1732, Montpellier was again disgraced by the martyrdom of Durand, a pastor of the Cevennes.⁴ 1745 and 1746, numbers were condemned to the galleys, banished, whipped, fined, and degraded.⁵ March 2d, 1745, Louis Rang was condemned at Grenoble and hung at Die, where he maintained his courage and cheerfulness to the end. Nothing terrified by this event, Alexander, his brother, continued still to preach through Dauphiné, though he was condemned to death, and a price was set upon his head.⁶ When Louis Rang was arrested at Livron, the venerable pastor, Roger, wrote to strengthen his faith, and often exclaimed, " Poor child, how I wish I was in your place ! Although he also was pursued by his enemies, he would not suspend his labors. The assemblies

¹ Coquerel, p. 239.

³ Ib. pp. 315, 325.

⁶ Ib. pp. 331-334.

² Ib. pp. 191-197.

⁴ Ib. pp. 325, 326.

⁶ Ib. pp. 334-336.

were as frequent and as well attended as before ; and when he was seized in a wood near Crest, and was asked by the officer who he was, he replied, " I am he whom you have been seeking these thirty-nine years ; it was time that you should find me."

His firmness before his judges was unshaken. In the prison he exhorted his fellow-prisoners to constancy ; and when, May 22d, 1745, the executioners came to conduct him to martyrdom, he exclaimed, " Happy moment, which I have so often desired ! Rejoice, O my soul, it is the day when thou must enter into the joy of thy Lord." ¹ About the same time the prisons of Alais, Uzès, St. Hippolite, Nismes, Montpellier, and other towns, were filled with those who were suffering for the sake of Christ : and ruinous fines were exacted from Protestants throughout the south. ² In the same year Matthew Majal, a young minister, only twenty-six years old, was seized in the village of Muzel, and carried first to Vernoux, and then to Montpellier. When interrogated, his judges were astonished and melted at the dignity, sense, and piety manifested by one so young. At the place of execution, where an immense crowd was assembled, February 2d, 1746, two Jesuits harassed him with their importunate bigotry, drums drowned his voice when he sought to address the people ; but the beauty of his youthful countenance, the manifest fervency of his prayers, his calmness, constancy, and gentleness, brought tears to every eye. The Protestants blessed God for the grace which was given to him, and the Catholics envied them the glory of his martyrdom. ³ August 1st, Elias Vivien, a preacher in Saintonge, was condemned and executed at Rochelle. ⁴ January 30th, 1752, François Bénézet, who, like Majal, was only twenty-six years of age, was seized near Vigan, and being conducted to Montpellier, was there condemned for having preached in Languedoc. March 27th, he was led to execution ; and though the drums drowned his voice, yet the spectators could hear him singing the 51st Psalm amid the roar, and

¹ Coquerel, pp. 345, 346.

² Ib. pp. 377-386.

³ Ib. p. 348.

⁴ Ib. p. 419.

could see that his countenance maintained its unalterable serenity to the end.¹

The dissolute court, amidst excesses and abuses of every kind, received with delight the news of this judicial murder.² 1754, Stephen Teissier Lafage, a young minister, was hung at Montpellier, and died with so much constancy and peace that the soldiers round the scaffold could not restrain their tears.³ Lastly, February 19th, 1762, François Rochette, a young minister of Upper Languedoc, and three noble brothers, Grenier de Commel, Grenier de Saradou, and the youthful Grenier de Lourmade, were executed together, with an intrepidity which astonished the assembled crowd.⁴ During these years many of the Protestants suffered greatly. Between 1744 and 1752, eighty gentlemen received different punishments, six hundred Protestants were imprisoned, and eight hundred endured other punishments in the south alone.⁵ Congregations were dispersed by soldiers; dragoons were quartered on the Protestant inhabitants; and children were dragged by force to the Catholic churches to be baptized. Multitudes conformed, multitudes fled the country, and whole villages were depopulated, and many took refuge in caverns and in forests. While Voltaire was writing against them in Paris, the Duke of Richelieu, his infidel and profligate friend, was hunting them with his dragoons in Languedoc. The court, the bishops, and the infidels, were all leagued against them, and were triumphing in their atrocious success. Meanwhile Paul Rabaut, the intrepid pastor of Nismes, and other pastors, continued their adventurous ministry. The congregations still assembled; their organization was improved; as many as two thousand gathered in the desert to hear the word of God. And on one occasion, at the ordination of three pastors, 8th of May, 1756, no less than ten thousand assembled at the foot of a mountain in Languedoc.⁶ At length their constancy prevailed. All moderate persons began to be disgusted with these persecutions. The clergy, partly through

¹ Coquerel, vol. ii. pp. 50, 51.

³ *Ib.* p. 170.

⁵ *Ib.* vol. i. p. 431.

² *Ib.* p. 51.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 290, 291.

⁶ *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 238.

their immorality, and partly through the prevalence of the infidel philosophy, having fallen into general contempt, numbers of the Protestants, under the tolerant ministry of Turgot and of Malesherbes, though they had concealed their principles in the time of danger, now professed them openly in various parts of the kingdom; and obtained, January 1788, an edict of toleration from Louis XVI.¹ At length, unhappily for them, Napoleon took their pastors into the pay of the State, and the Reformed Church became one of the established churches of the empire.

In vain, then, do Mr. Burke and Mr. Gladstone appeal on behalf of the principle of Establishments to the general practice of mankind. That general practice, pagan and papal but not Christian, has ever been employed to sustain tyranny and priestcraft, to crush liberty and to repress truth; and can ill be pleaded on behalf of a principle which it illustrates only to brand it with eternal infamy. Throughout the preceding sketch of church history we see the State churches, like the imperial harlot in the 17th chapter of the Apocalypse, committing fornication with the kings of the earth, by disloyally transferring to them Christ's right of governing his churches, receiving from them their golden hire in return; and the free churches, like the woman of the 12th chapter of the Apocalypse, persecuted by the dragon, and driven into the desert. We see the State churches, like the harlot, clothed with purple, and adorned with gems, Rev. xvii. 4; and the free churches, like the woman clothed with the sun, radiant with the glory of divine grace, Rev. xii. 1. We see the State churches, like the harlot who was seated on the symbolic beast, sustained by superstitious and ungodly majorities, Rev. xvii. 3; and the free churches, like the sun-bright woman, who was solitary in the wilderness, long deserted and proscribed by them, Rev. xii. 6. We see the State churches, like the harlot, persecuting the saints of God, Rev. xvii. 6; and the free churches, like the sun-bright woman, sustained by God under persecution, Rev. xii. 6. We see the State churches, like the harlot, exulting in their numerous ad-

¹ Coquerel, vol. ii. p. 552.

herents, power, and wealth, and exclaiming, "I sit a queen, and shall see no sorrow," Rev. xviii. 7; and the free churches, at length helped by the earth, because at length the world began to favor entire liberty of conscience, and to respect justice between man and man, Rev. xii. 16. In the State churches we see too much approximation to the great apostasy; and in the free churches no less conformity to the predicted condition of the church of Christ.

All history proclaims that the union, tried through long centuries of misrule, and found every where to be only potent for evil, should at length give place to Christ's own law of spiritual liberty, through which alone his churches can accomplish their beneficial mission, to bring the nations of the earth into the service of the Redeemer, and to make all intellects and all hearts tributary to his glory.

SECTION IV.—*The Union condemned by the Mosaic Law.*

Advocates of the union between Church and State often appeal on its behalf to the law and practice of the Old Testament. By an express provision of the Mosaic code, a tithe of the land's produce was set apart for the maintenance of the priests and Levites. From which they argue thus:—If the payment of tithes was then made obligatory by law, it may be made obligatory by law still; what was then morally right can not now be morally wrong; and therefore a national provision for the ministers of religion has the direct sanction of God. "Ma e senza dubbio molto pericoloso il governarse con gli esempi, si non concorrono non solo in generale, ma in tutti i particolari le medesime ragioni." This observation of Guicciardini applies exactly to this alleged Jewish precedent, which, instead of justifying the English union between the Church and State, most unequivocally condemns it.

As the Mosaic law is expressly abrogated, its institutions were clearly judged by their divine author to be unfitted for the more spiritual and more universal religion of Christ.¹

¹ Heb. viii. 7-13; ix. 9, 10.

And to imprison Christian doctrine within Jewish ordinances, would be to put new wine into old bottles, which was what our Lord declared he did not intend to do.¹ If, therefore, there had been a union between the Church and the State enacted by the Mosaic law, I should see in it no proof that such union was allowed by the law of Christ. But there was, in fact, no such union between the priesthood and the government ; and, on the contrary, the enactments of the Jewish law were such as distinctly to condemn the union which now exists in this country.

1. In England, the ministers of the Establishment are maintained by taxes, imposed by the State, in the form of rent-charges ; and ecclesiastical buildings are maintained by another tax, under the form of church-rates : these taxes being imposed not by the authority of God, but by the authority of the State. In Israel tithes were imposed, not by the authority of the State, but by the command of God, there being no royal tax whatever for the support of religion ; and the temple and all the synagogues in the land were built and repaired by voluntary contributions.²

2. In England the State, in consequence of its maintenance of the ministers and the buildings of the Establishment, assumes a control over it, allows or forbids its synods, ratifies or rejects its canons, and passes what ecclesiastical laws it pleases for the regulation of the churches. In Israel the State could issue no ecclesiastical enactment whatever. The prince was governed by the following law : “ *It shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests and the Levites ; and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life : that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes to do them.*”³ One of these statutes, to which he was bound to pay obedience, was as follows : “ *Ye shall*

¹ Matt. ix. 17.

² 2 Sam. viii. 11 ; 1 Kings vii. 51 ; 2 Kings xii. 4, 8, 9 ; xx. 4-7 ; 1 Chron. xxii. 5-14 ; xxix. 6 ; 2 Chron. xxiv. 4.

³ Deut. xvii. 18, 19.

not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God as I command you."¹ So that he was expressly forbidden to introduce the slightest change, or to make the least addition to the precepts of the divine law. There is accordingly no trace of any ecclesiastical statute passed by any one of the Jewish kings. The chief magistrate did not possess the right of exercising the least control over the creed, worship, or church discipline of the nation. He might make what civil and fiscal regulations he pleased, but must not in any respect interfere with the worship of God. In religion they were to obey God alone. The only apparent exception to this general fact, in reality, confirms it. For David, indeed, determined the form of the temple which was to be built at Sion ;² but this he did as a prophet, not as a king, under the influence of divine inspiration, not by royal prerogative.³ No human authority had any right to interfere with the creed, worship, or discipline of the Jewish congregation ; but in England the State has formed a large body of Ecclesiastical laws, by which the churches are governed. Each session adds some new enactment to the portentous mass ; and to a great extent church duties are regulated by the statute-book.

3. During the Mosaic economy God himself appointed the high-priest, the priests, and the inferior ministers of religion. And the priests being thus made wholly independent of the king and the government, no change in the government made any change of the priesthood. Thus, when Rehoboam succeeded Solomon, he could not raise one favorite to the priesthood, nor displace one of the priests appointed by God ; the succession of the ministers, as well as their duties, was appointed by God, and the sovereign could not interfere ; but in England the State has the nomination of the prelates, these have the right of ordaining the clergy, and from among these, lay patrons, determined by a money qualification alone, are empowered by the State

¹ Deut. iv. 1, 2.

² 1 Chron. xxviii. 11.

³ 1 Chron. xxviii. 11-19.

to select the pastors of the churches ; so that the pastors of the churches are mainly determined by the State.

In Israel the incomes of the priests were settled without the authority of the State ; in England their incomes are furnished by the authority of the State alone.

In Israel the priests were determined by God ; in England the prelates are nominated by the State.

In Israel kings and nobles could raise no unfit person to ministry ; in England patrons can practically secure their livings to any of their nominees who have fair capacity and good morals.

In Israel no congregation had a pastor imposed on them by the State ; in England nearly all the churches have pastors so imposed upon them.

Since, therefore, during the Mosaic economy, God so guarded the priesthood that no one could enter it except by his express appointment, and the State had no power whatever in the matter, he has thereby condemned the union through which the State, without his authority, assumes the appointment of the ministers of a much more spiritual religion.

4. By the Mosaic law all the Jewish citizens were religiously equal. The State created no rivalry by exalting one sect above another, so that when the great festivals gathered together the devout worshipers of God from every place, they met as a holy brotherhood, without any of the sources of jealousy arising from civil distinctions established by law. But in the English union, one among several sects, equally evangelical, is placed by the State above all the rest, whereby jealousy and division are excited in the Christian family. The Mosaic system treated all the worshipers of God as on perfect equality : the Anglican system unjustly exalts one sect, and depresses all the rest. In Scotland the Presbyterian is exalted, the Episcopalian is depressed ; in England the Episcopalian is exalted, the Presbyterian depressed. In both parts of the kingdom, therefore, the system is so opposite to the Mosaic, that if the latter was agreeable to his will, the former must be opposed to it.

5. The Mosaic law allowed of no compulsory payments for the support of religion. As God commanded his people to love him with all their heart, so he commanded them to pay a tithe of the land to the Levites.¹ But as the magistrate could not compel the Israelite to obey the first of these commands, so he could not compel obedience to the second. In both cases the conscience of the worshiper was the only allowed compulsion; no legal process was appointed for the recovery of the tithes by the priests; no magistrate was empowered to collect them; and as the Almighty forbade that any additions should be made to the Mosaic law,² no law to enforce their payment could be passed afterward. Accordingly their payment throughout the Jewish history was voluntary. In the reformation effected by Nehemiah, B.C. 444, the chiefs and the people entered into a solemn covenant to pay their tithes,³ which would have been unnecessary if the Levites could have extorted payment by distraint or otherwise. Notwithstanding that covenant the tithes were not paid; for about ten years after this time the prophet Malachi was directed to address the people thus: "*Will a man rob God? yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse, for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation. Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in my house.*"⁴ When Nehemiah revisited Jerusalem the tithe was still unpaid.⁵ These are facts which prove that the Levites had no legal redress if their tithes were withheld. In the time of our Lord's ministry, there was still the same liberty, otherwise the Pharisee could not have said, with boastful self-complacency, "I give tithes of all that I possess;" nor could our Lord have adduced the payment of the tithe of mint, anise, and cummin, as a proof of the hypocrisy of the Pharisee.⁶ "The payment and appreciation of the tithe Moses left to the consciences of the people, without subjecting them to judicial or sacer-

¹ Numb. xxviii. 21; Lev. xxvii. 30.

² Deut. iv. 1, 2.

³ Neh. x. 29-37.

⁴ Mal. iii. 8-10.

⁵ Neh. xiii. 10.

⁶ Luke xviii. 12, 13; Matt. xxiii. 23.

dotal visitations ;”¹ and no Jewish king could make the slightest alteration in this arrangement. God loves a cheerful giver,² and would no more allow the State to enforce payments in support of religion than he would allow it to compel men to profess to love him. All duty to him was to be free from human dictation. The support of religion would be degraded if it ceased to be spontaneous : spontaneous zeal paid tithe ; spontaneous contributions first built and then repaired both the tabernacle and the temple ; and if the sovereigns of Judea contributed to these works, it was from their private property, and not from any public fund raised by the taxation of their subjects. By thus securing in the Mosaic economy that all such payments should be free, not even allowing the priests to obtain their tithes by any legal process, God has condemned all compulsory payments for the support of religion. But with us the State, having granted to the clergy their rent-charges and their church-rates, enforces the payment of them ; and if any reluctant nonconformist refuses payment, it is extorted by distraint. Our system, therefore, rests upon the compulsory payments which God has by the Mosaic law condemned.

6. In all their great features, the Mosaic and the Anglican systems for the maintenance of religion are directly opposed ; and as the one has the sanction of the Almighty, the other must be contrary to his will. The Mosaic separation of the Church and State condemns our union of the two, whatever the character of the State may be. Our system would remain unscriptural and mischievous if administered by kings like David and by statesmen like Daniel ; but it becomes more glaringly opposed to the practice of the Old Testament when we consider that it is administered by a State which is irreligious. What part did ungodly kings take, by divine appointment, in the religious affairs of the Jews ? In what degree were Saul and Manasseh commissioned to superintend the creed, the worship, or the discipline of the church of God in their king-

¹ Horne's "Introduction," part iii. chap. 3, sect. 6.

² 2 Cor. ix. 7.

dom? They had nothing to do with it. Had there been a union like ours, it would have subsisted through each successive reign, whatever might be the character of the sovereign: the church would have been as much united to Saul as to David, to Rehoboam as to Solomon, to Manasseh as to Hezekiah; but it was not in the least united to either of these three ungodly princes. They had no episcopate to discharge, no right to interfere; the system was complete without their aid, and went on as if they had not been in existence. According, therefore, to the precedents of the Old Testament, whatever influence might be allowed to a pious State, an irreligious State ought to have none; but our State, in its most powerful member representing an irreligious majority, must generally be irreligious; and as the Mosaic system excluded the irreligious king from all control over the priesthood, so the English system ought to exclude an irreligious House of Commons from all control over the ministers of the churches. If, when the people were ignorant and barbarous, God would not permit irreligious kings to exercise any control over the religion of the country, much less does he permit an irreligious State to control the churches of instructed and enlightened Christians. If in the mere carnal dispensation he appointed a system where every detail was regulated by himself, and the expenditure was sustained spontaneously by the people, much more in this dispensation of the Spirit (*διακονία τοῦ Πνεύματος*) must he require that the churches (*ἐκκλησίαι τῶν ἁγίων*) follow exclusively the directions of his word, and spontaneously provide for the maintenance of his worship. To infer that because there was one tithe system in Judea there may be lawfully an opposite tithe system in England, is to be willfully deceived. As long as it remains on record that irreligious Jewish kings were not permitted by the Mosaic law to tax their subjects for the payment of the priests, or to raise to the priesthood others than those who were appointed by God, or to make ecclesiastical laws, or to prohibit the priests from assembling to consider how they might effect a reformation of their church when corrupt, or to nominate State-paid pastors for the congrega-

tions of their towns and villages, or to exalt one class of Jewish worshipers by depressing all the rest, or to compel by force their subjects to pay for the support of an ecclesiastical machinery of their own invention—so long the Mosaic law must condemn all these practices, which are involved in the Anglican union of the Church with the State.

SECTION V.—*The Union condemned by the Prophecies of the Old Testament.*

The ultimate condition of the church of Christ on earth will, according to the predictions of the Old Testament, be extremely glorious. Immediately after the fall our Creator declared to the tempter that the Saviour to come should bruise (or crush) his head.¹ This earliest prophecy was illustrated and amplified by subsequent predictions in the following terms: “*The scepter shall not depart from Judah till Shiloh (the peaceable) come, and UNTO HIM shall the gathering of the peoples (עַמִּים) be. . . . Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen (גוֹיִם, nations) for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. . . . All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee. . . . All kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him.*”² *I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him.*”³ . . . *Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end.*”⁴

The universal dominion of Christ predicted in these passages involves the universal extension and prosperity of the church; and these are likewise predicted in the following terms: “*It shall come to pass in the last days that the*

¹ Gen. iii. 15. ² Gen. xlix. 10; Ps. ii. 8; xxii. 27; lxxii. 11.

³ Dan. vii. 13, 14.

⁴ Isaiah ix. 7.

*mountain of the Lord's house shall be established on the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it.*¹ . . . *Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. . . . And the Gentiles (גוים, nations) shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. . . . For the nation and the kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish.*"²

According to these prophecies all nations must flow to Zion, and serve it. At the same time it was declared that multitudes within the Jewish nation would reject Christ.³ These would be given up to hardness of heart,⁴ and suffer just punishment.⁵ The promises were not made to them, but to the pious part of the nation.⁶ These became Christians,⁷ and are the true Israel,⁸ who, with Gentile Christians united to them, are the one holy nation, the Zion of God.⁹ To this spiritual Zion the promises of the Old Testament relating to the Gospel era are made. The following prophecy in Isaiah liv. places this truth in a clear light: "*Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord. Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtain of thy habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shall break forth on the right hand and on the left, and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited.*"¹⁰ This prediction is explained by the Apostle Paul in his fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, thus: "*Tell me ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bond-maid, the other by a free-*

¹ Isa. ii. 2.² Isa. lx. 1, 3, 12.³ Isa. liii. 1-4; John xii. 37.⁴ Isa. vi. 9-12; John xii. 39.⁵ Gal. iv. 21-30; 1 Thess. ii. 14-16.⁶ Isa. vi. 13; Joel ii. 32; Rom. ix. 6-8, 22-24; xi. 1-10.⁷ Acts ii. 41-47; iv. 4; v. 14; vi. 7; xxi. 20.⁸ Rom. ix. 8.⁹ 1 Pet. ii. 9; Gal. iii. 7, 29; iv. 25-31; Rom. ix. 8; Heb. xii 22, 23.¹⁰ Isa. liv. 1-3.

woman. *But he who was of the bond-woman was born after the flesh, but he of the free-woman was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth the bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is Mount Sinai, in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. BUT JERUSALEM WHICH IS ABOVE IS FREE, WHICH IS THE MOTHER OF US ALL. FOR IT IS WRITTEN, REJOICE, THOU BARREN THAT BEAREST NOT; BREAK FORTH AND CRY, THOU THAT TRAVAILEST NOT: FOR THE DESOLATE HATH MANY MORE CHILDREN THAN SHE WHICH HATH AN HUSBAND. Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise. But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now. Nevertheless, what saith the Scripture? Cast out the bondwoman and her son; for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman. So then, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free."* Here are two communities; the one is represented as a married wife, the second as a wife who has been put away and is desolate. By the first is intended the Jewish nation, long enjoying the privileges of God's chosen people; by the second is intended the spiritual Israel, the church of God within that nation. The first was typified by Hagar, the bondwoman married to Abraham; the second by Sarah, who was so long childless and desolate. The first was the Jewish nation in bondage under the law, which God intended to cast out, as Hagar was dismissed by Abraham; the second was the church of Christ, which, like Sarah, was free; and the children of which, by the accession of Gentile converts, were to become more numerous than the Jewish nation had ever been.

The unconverted Jews, like Ishmael, are in bondage, and cast out of the favor of God; while all believers, Jews and Gentiles, are, like Isaac, the children of promise and the heirs of the promised blessings. It follows from this apostolic exposition of the prophecy, that the community addressed in Isaiah liv. is the spiritual Jerusalem

or Zion, the church of Christ. A comparison of Isaiah liv. with Isaiah lx. shows clearly that the same community is addressed in both predictions; and, therefore, Isaiah lx. is also addressed to the church of Christ, and under the name of Zion; and to this church are all the promises made in the closing chapters of the prophet Isaiah.

To this spiritual Zion, the church of Christ, was this promise given: "*All thy children shall be taught of the Lord.*"¹ Upon which passage our Lord made the following comment: "*It is written in the prophets, And they shall be all taught of God.* EVERY MAN, THEREFORE, THAT HATH HEARD AND HATH LEARNED OF THE FATHER, COMETH UNTO ME."² Now, since all who have received the Scriptures certainly do not come to Christ, this divine teaching must be the teaching of the Spirit, which both enlightens the understanding and converts the heart. No one who is destitute of this teaching is a citizen of Zion, a member of the church of Christ. As then, the church is holy, every one of its members being taught of God, so the weapons of its warfare are to be spiritual, not carnal—spiritual and not carnal means are to accomplish its ultimate and most decisive triumphs.

"*Thus speaketh the Lord of Hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is The Branch; and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord.*"³ The church is God's building,⁴ in which every stone is a living stone,⁵ of which every part is the holy dwelling-place of the Spirit;⁶ of which no man forms a part who does not hold fast his bold confession of Christ, and his joyful confidence in him to the end.⁷ This temple is to be completed by Christ, by his Spirit, and by such means as he alone originates. Unless, therefore, the means employed by the union for the promotion of the welfare of the church are such as have his authority (which they are not), they are contrary to his will, as declared by this prediction.

Of this church there are, further, three things declared

¹ Isa. liv. 13.

² John vi. 45.

³ Zech. vi. 12, 13

⁴ 1 Cor. iii. 9.

⁵ 1 Pet. ii. 5.

⁶ Eph. ii. 18-22.

⁷ Heb. iii. 6.

by the prophets which condemn the union as now existing in our country.

1. Let us recall a part of the prophetic vision which was presented to Nebuchadnezzar, and which is thus described by Daniel: "*Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out WITHOUT HANDS, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and, THE STONE THAT SMOTE THE IMAGE BECAME A GREAT MOUNTAIN, AND FILLED THE WHOLE EARTH.*"¹

The four metals composing the image being declared to be four great successive kingdoms, the prophet Daniel thus expounded the symbolic fact that the stone struck and destroyed the image: "*In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever.*"² The church of Christ was, according to this prediction, formed in the apostolic age by the power of God alone; it did strike the Roman empire, when in its degenerate days it was formed of Romans and barbarians intermingled; it has completely subverted those four pagan empires; and it is now growing into that vast and wide-spread community which is ultimately to fill the world.

2. To this church has God thus promised the perpetual aid of his Spirit: "*My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and forever.*"³ And it shall come to pass afterward that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh."⁴

3. God has given to this church these further promises: "*It shall come to pass in the last days, that the moun-*

¹ Dan. ii. 34, 35.

² Dan. ii. 44.

³ Isaiah lix. 21.

⁴ Joel ii. 28-32, with Acts ii. 14-20; and Rom. x. 12-15.

tain of the Lord's house (Mount Zion, the church of Christ —Gal. iv. 26 ; Heb. xii. 22), shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted ABOVE the hills ; AND ALL NATIONS SHALL FLOW UNTO IT. And many people (nations, עַמִּים) shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob ; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths ; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.¹ . . . Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel ; for he hath glorified thee. . . . For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace : the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.² . . . Arise, shine ; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people ; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee. And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. . . . For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish ; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.³ . . . And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him ;⁴ . . . And kings shall be thy nursing-fathers, and their queens thy nursing-mothers ; THEY SHALL BOW DOWN TO THEE WITH THEIR FACE TOWARD THE EARTH, AND LICK UP THE DUST OF THY FEET."⁵

These predictions can not receive their full accomplishment till the churches be separated from the States throughout the world. According to prophecy, the church which was originally cut out from the ungodly mass of the world by divine power without the aid of governments, is to GROW

¹ Isaiah ii. 2, 3.² Isaiah lv. 5, 12.³ Isaiah lx. 1-3, 12.⁴ Dan. vii. 27.⁵ Isaiah xlix. 23.

into a great mountain and fill the whole earth. It is not to be piled up by human governments, but to *grow* through divine power. It grows through grace. (Acts ii. 47 ; Eph. ii. 21 ; iv. 15, 16.)

According to prophecy, the church is to look for the effusion of the Spirit upon all flesh as the great cause of its ultimate triumph ; whatever, therefore, in the churches tends to grieve and to quench the Spirit—whatever makes the churches worldly—whatever leads them to lean upon the arm of flesh rather than of God, tends to prevent the accomplishment of its promised triumphs.

But the union does all these things, as I shall hereafter show.

According to prophecy, all nations are to flow to the church of Christ through its spiritual glory and its preaching of the Gospel. But the union corrupts it, and impedes the preaching of the Gospel ; and therefore the union is preventing its extension and triumph.

According to prophecy, kings and their queens, becoming pious, are to promote the progress of religion, as David and Hezekiah, by their personal services. But by the union irreligious governments force their reluctant subjects to support good and bad ministers indiscriminately.

According to prophecy, pious kings and their queens are to be as fathers and mothers to the whole church of Christ within their dominions, but by the union the sovereign is made to rend the church, exalting one part to an unbrotherly superiority, and unjustly depressing and harassing the other.

According to prophecy, pious kings and queens, as *simple members of the church of Christ, are to serve it* ; but by the union an irreligious government binds the churches hand and foot, rules over them with a rod of iron, will allow no self-government, no reformation, no independent discipline, and is their absolute, irresponsible lord.

Thus the prophecies of the Old Testament condemn the union, no less than the history of Christian churches condemns it. These show it to be unscriptural, as this manifests its inexpediency ; and both concur in making many earnest and enlightened men wish ardently for its dissolution.

SECTION VI.—*The Union condemned by the New Testament.*

We have seen that the union is condemned both by the Mosaic law, and by the prophecies of the Old Testament ; but its most direct and severe condemnation is to be found in the New. Here its more cautious advocates are content to stand on the defensive : and maintaining that the New Testament is silent on the subject, expend their efforts in the attempt to evade the force of the condemnatory passages. Bolder champions have, however, declared its authority to be in their favor, and find passages in which they think that a national Establishment is clearly justified. One of these is the following parable in the thirteenth chapter of St. Matthew :—“ *The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind ; which, when it was full, they drew to shore, and sat down, and gathered the good into vessels, but cast the bad away.*” This parable seems to a zealous writer to indicate “ a visible society, including multitudes who are not spiritual,” a baptized nation—a national Establishment.¹ His statement is not very distinct, but by the net he seems to understand a national church in which bad and good are to remain quietly together, as the bad fish and the good in the net. But if this be his meaning, his exposition makes the parable contradict several plain commands, which urge the churches to excommunicate offending members, and to maintain communion with those alone who are living consistently with their profession. “ *Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone : if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church ;* BUT IF HE NEGLECT TO HEAR THE CHURCH, LET HIM BE UNTO THEE AS A HEATHEN MAN AND A PUBLICAN.”²

¹ Lectures on the Church of England, lecture iv. p. 165.

² Matt. xviii. 15–17.

... Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.¹ ... Now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such a one no not to eat. Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person.² ... Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate.³ ... I would they were even cut off which trouble you.⁴ ... Now we command you brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.⁵ ... A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition reject.⁶ ... I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate."⁷

As the idea that the parable before us allows a church to retain in its communion the bad and good, the vicious and the virtuous, the profane and the pious, the schismatical and the peaceable, is at variance with these passages; so it is also inconsistent with the design of the parable itself.

If the parable meant that a national Establishment should gather into its fold the good and the evil, that a whole nation should be caught in the ecclesiastical net, then it could have no fulfillment for the first three centuries;

¹ Rom. xvi. 17.² 1 Cor. v. 11, 13.³ 2 Cor. vi. 14, 17.⁴ Gal. v. 12.⁵ 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.⁶ Titus iii. 10.⁷ Rev. ii. 14, 15

and its language would have been not "the kingdom of heaven is like," but "the kingdom of heaven WILL BE like," for it certainly was not formed of national Establishments then : but the net means not the church but the doctrine of the Gospel. "The net is the Gospel. The fishers are the apostles. Evangelical preaching brings all to Christ. The Gospel collects men of every sort."¹ "It is neither the church visible nor invisible, [but] the doctrine of the apostles, made by Christ fishers of men, which is here compared to a net."² When our Lord said to his apostles, "I will make you fishers of men"³ he clearly meant that their net should be the preaching of the Gospel. When St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, "I caught you with guile,"⁴ his net was the doctrine of the Gospel, his conduct was the management of the net. Hence this parable receives its accomplishment whenever any Christian whatever so speaks of Christ as to draw some to receive it sincerely, and some to be convinced of its truth while they yet remain unconverted.

If any one imagines that the net might mean the church, because the kingdom of heaven is said to be like the net, and they suppose the kingdom of heaven to mean the church, let him apply this reasoning to other parables. In verse 24 we read, "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed," therefore the church is this sower ; but, on the contrary, "He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man."⁵ In verse 44 we read, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field," &c., and in verse 45, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchantman seeking goodly pearls," &c. So that the church is both the treasure and the purchaser, which is absurd. The expression, therefore, does not mean that the church is like the net, but that in the establishment of the kingdom, or reign, of Christ in the world, the preaching of

¹ "Verriculum evangelium est . . . Piscatores apostoli sunt . . . Evangelica prædicatio omnes ad Christum adducit . . . Evangelium colligit omnis generis homines."—BULLINGER *ad loc.*

² Whitby.

⁴ 2 Cor. xii. 16.

³ Matt. iv. 19.

⁵ See verse 37.

Christ is like this net. And this being the case, it follows, first, that the parable does not justify the neglect of discipline in any church, or the admission into the church of any one known to be ungodly, for the design of the fisherman is to catch the good fish and not the bad; and as soon as the bad fish are discovered, upon the net being drawn to the shore, they are cast away. So that the parable rather speaks of those professed Christians who are not known to be wicked than of those who are openly so. And, secondly, the parable can not justify the Anglican system, in which the infants of the nation are indiscriminately brought into the church by baptism, because it refers to the effect of the doctrine of Christ upon the minds of men, and not the effect of a sacrament upon infancy. So far from justifying, in this parable, the indiscriminate fellowship of the godly and the profane in a national Establishment, our Lord simply teaches that many would profit to receive the Gospel who were not converted and sanctified by it; and that these will be separated from believers at the judgment-day, though unavoidably associated with them now.

Another argument for an Establishment has been derived from the parable of the tares and the wheat, in the following words: "An attempt originating often in the most pious and devoted intentions, a zeal for God, but not according to enlarged knowledge, to supersede this prerogative of the returning Saviour, and to separate now a visible company of worshipers which shall also be a pure company; *in other words, an attempt before the harvest to remove the tares, in defiance of the significant prohibition, LEST YE ROOT UP ALSO THE WHEAT WITH THEM*, is the root of all sectarianism."¹ The substance of this argument is, that while *sectarians, i.e.* dissenters, endeavor by church discipline to preserve the purity of their churches in opposition to our Lord's will, the Establishment permitting the ungodly to remain quietly within its communion, acts according to his admonition, "Let both grow together till the harvest." Hence the Establishment is more scriptural and more

¹ Lectures on the Church, p. 26.

agreeable to the will of Christ than a dissenting congregation. Let me here introduce the parable which has been thus interpreted : "*The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field : but while men slept his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also. So the servants of the householder came, and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field ? from whence then hath it tares ? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up ? But he said, Nay ; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest.*" Of this parable our Lord has given us his own explanation : "*He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man ; the field is the world ; the good seed are the children of the kingdom ; but the tares are the children of the wicked one ; the enemy that sowed them is the devil ; the harvest is the end of the world,*"¹ &c.

Our Lord's explanation enables us to derive some certain instruction from this parable with respect to the discipline of the churches, as well as with respect to the final separation of the ungodly from among believers. The field in the parable is the world, ver. 38 ; the good seed are the children of the kingdom, ver. 38. *i. e.* the kingdom of Christ, ver. 41. His kingdom is composed exclusively of true believers ; Matt. v. 3 ; vii. 21 ; xi. 2 ; xvi. 19 ; xix. 14, 23 ; xxi. 31 ; Luke xvii. 21 ; Rom. xiv. 17 ; 1 Cor. iv. 20 ; Eph. v. 5 ; Col. i. 13 ; iv. 11 ; and the word is not used in Scripture to express either the world, or the aggregate of the churches, but real believers. The good seed, then, are the subjects of Christ's kingdom. The tares, or zizania, are the children of Satan, ver. 38, *i. e.* ungodly persons, 1 John iii. 9, 10. The good seed, or believers, are sown in the world by Christ, ver. 37, because all Christians are born of the Spirit, created in Christ Jesus to good works, John iii. 5 ; Eph. ii. 10. The tares, or

¹ Matt. xiii. 24, 37.

zizania, are sown among Christians, not by Christ but by Satan, *i. e.* he induces hypocrites to make false profession of religion, instead of turning heartily to God, ver. 25, 39. He sows these *among the Christians*, by securing their admission into the churches, ver. 25. He does this *while men sleep*. When Christians become negligent, false doctrines preached, discipline relaxed, and profession made easy, then hypocrites form the churches, ver. 25. When Christians awake and see how much false profession abounds, then they wish to separate the spiritual from all the rest, and would cast hypocrites out of the church, ver. 28. But our Lord condemns the attempt on the ground that it would lead to the ejection of real Christians as well as hypocrites, ver. 29. This has since often happened, in fact; Roman churches, on pretense of rooting out heretics, have murdered Christians without number. They were excommunicated by priests, and then outlawed and murdered by magistrates. The good seed were torn up, the zizania were left to spread over the field. The English Establishment has followed the example of the Catholics. By its canons it excommunicated non-conformists; and, when excommunicated, they were liable to be imprisoned by force of the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, till they submitted. Ungodly conformists were left to triumph; but the most pious persons of the country were expelled and harassed. Our Lord, foreboding therefore such an attempt, has said, "*Let both grow together until the harvest.*" Openly wicked persons should be separated from each church, Matt. xviii. 17; Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. v. 11, 13; 2 Cor. vi. 14, 17; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14. These are not the zizania resembling the wheat; but thorns and thistles about which there can be no mistake, and which Christ has expressly commanded to be separated from communion with his people: others are to be left to God.

According to this parable it can not be our Lord's will that the children of "the wicked one" should systematically be admitted into the churches, for the following reasons:

1. He represented himself as sowing in his field nothing but

good seed. He, then, has placed in the churches none but the children of the kingdom, true believers; and it can be no more according to his will that ungodly persons should be admitted into his churches, than it could be the will of the sower that weeds should be sown with his wheat.

2. As it was the enemy of the proprietor who sowed the darnel, or zizania, so it has been the devil, the enemy of Christ, who has introduced ungodly persons into the churches; and those who introduce them are doing the work of Satan, and, like him, are enemies of Christ.

3. As the zizania were sown during the night while men slept, so ungodly persons are introduced into the churches in consequence of the lethargy and declension of ministers and people, through which false doctrines are taught, and discipline is relaxed. 4. As the servants could not have connived at the sowing of the zizania because they were surprised to see them springing up, so faithful servants of Christ can not knowingly introduce ungodly persons into the churches.

Yet the parable does not sanction the neglect of the exercise of discipline upon open offenders: 1. Because the zizania, which closely resembled the wheat, represent those who, although unconverted, make such a profession of religion that it is difficult to distinguish them from Christians; 2. Because the reason why these are not to be ejected from the churches is, lest real Christians should be thus ejected, ver. 29. These reasons do not apply to the excommunication of open offenders. How could it injure the church at Jerusalem to excommunicate Ananias and Sapphira? Or how could the church in Samaria suffer by ejecting Simon Magus? Or why should not the churches of Galatia cut off the false teachers who were subverting their faith? Or the church at Pergamos exclude the Nicolaitanes?¹

But if the parable does not teach that ungodly persons are to be admitted to church fellowship, or that open offenders are to remain in the possession of that privilege, what does it teach? 1. It shows that while Christ ordained that his churches should be pure, Satan, by means of Es-

¹ See Acts v. 4; viii. 18-23; Gal. v. 12; Rev. xi. 15, 16.

tablishments, among other methods, fills the churches with ungodly persons ; and that those who support them in this work are herein acting as the servants of Satan and the enemies of Christ. 2. It manifests that when unconverted persons, who make a decent profession of religion, are introduced into churches, they must not be ejected, lest Christians should be ejected instead of the unconverted. Events have fully illustrated the danger which our Lord here specified. Against his direction, churches in conjunction with States have undertaken to excommunicate many who were supposed to be zizania ; but the result has been, both in England and on the Continent, that the weeds have flourished, and the wheat has been rooted up ; the children of the wicked one have been enthroned in power, and the disciples of Christ have been sentenced by them to the rack and to the fire, to prison and to exile.

Distinctly, then, does the parable condemn the Establishment in this country ; First, Because it admits all sorts of persons into its bosom ; secondly, because while pretending to tear up the weeds, it has rooted out the wheat ; while professing to expel heresy and schism, it has driven from its communion many of the most eminent servants of Christ. Alas ! at this moment the Establishment continues to offend against our Lord's admonition in this parable ; and while it retains in communion with it persons who are openly wicked, it excludes from its communion many who are devoted and enlightened Christians.

The following is the language of its canons now in force, and by which all its clergy are bound :—" Whosoever shall impeach any part of the Queen's regal supremacy," " Whosoever shall affirm that the form of God's worship, contained in the Book of Common-prayer, containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures," " Whosoever shall affirm that any of the nine-and-thirty articles are in any part erroneous," " Whosoever shall affirm that such ministers as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God's worship in the Church of England, and their adherents, may truly take to them the name of another church," " Let him be excommunicated, and not restored

but by the archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of such his wicked errors."¹ Our Lord commands, that the openly wicked should be excommunicated, and the Establishment leaves them to nestle quietly in its bosom. But while he commands that all who, with good morals, make a profession of faith in him, should remain unmolested, the Establishment excommunicates many real Christians, who are pious dissenters; and till lately, the State, for its sake, inflicted on them many temporal penalties and disabilities.

Of those passages in the Epistles on which the advocates of Establishments rely, it is scarcely necessary to say a word; to cite them is to prove their irrelevance: they are these: "*Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive unto themselves damnation . . . Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.*"² "*Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.*"³ Upon these two passages one author remarks: "The right interpretation of this language in its practical interpretation, direct and implied, points out the political position, that is, the position relatively with the civil ruler, which it is the will of God should be occupied by his church; and therefore involves the question of what is commonly called 'the union between Church and State.'"⁴ These passages, on the contrary, have not the remotest connection with the question of the union. They were directions given to the Christian subjects of a wicked heathen prince to obey their magistrates, because government is a divine appointment, by which, generally, the honest, industrious, and peaceable are protected against lawless violence. For three hundred years

¹ Canons, 2, 4, 5, 10.

² Rom. xiii. 1-5.

³ 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

⁴ Lectures on the Church, p. 117.

these commands were obeyed by Christians, when the union of the Churches with an idolatrous and persecuting State was impossible, and, of course, they may be obeyed equally by Christians for three thousand years to come, when all union between Churches and States has been abandoned as criminal and mischievous. Why should not the Dissenters in this country, and the Christians in the United States, who condemn the union, be as well able to obey these precepts as the Christians of the first three centuries, to whom the union was never offered? In truth, the passages have no relation whatever to a union; they oblige us to obey the laws when those laws, require of us nothing forbidden by God; to pay the taxes imposed upon us, to maintain order, to promote loyalty, to respect those in power, and nothing more. So that they can be obeyed as completely by the member of a free church as by the member of an Establishment.

We have not done with these two passages yet: for although the duties which they prescribe to the subject can be fulfilled without the union, they impose, according to Mr. Gladstone, upon the rulers the duty of establishing the union. "Finally," he says, "to determine how this question is resolved for us as Christians. What says the divine word? That the ruler *'beareth the sword for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.'*"¹ I do not cite this passage, as in former times it has been employed, in order to demonstrate that rulers have duties directly religious, but I contend that it describes them as appointed to maintain a moral law, according to all their means and opportunities."² First, a fragment of St. Paul's statement is blended with a fragment from St. Peter; these two fragments from different authors are termed one "passage." This "passage," so manufactured, declares that rulers punish thieves and murderers, while they approve of the honest, sober, and virtuous. And from this Mr. Gladstone infers that they are bound to uphold morality *by all means*, and, consequently by an Establish-

¹ Rom. xiii. 4; 1 Pet. iii. 14.

² The State, &c., vol. i. p. 152.

ment. The cause of the union must be desperate, if able men can find no better scriptural evidence to support it.

I have, finally, to examine a prediction in the Apocalypse which has been, also, supposed to support the union, and which is contained in the following words: "*And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron; and her child was caught up unto God and to his throne. . . . And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man child; and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. AND THE EARTH HELPED THE WOMAN, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth.*"¹ To this the excellent and able author of the "Lectures on the Establishment of National Churches," has alluded in the following terms: "Constantine may have seen, that by the establishment of a universal Christian education he best consulted, both for the economic well-being of his people, and for the prosperous administration of his own civil and political affairs. If we can not speak to the sincerity of his principle as a man, we may, at least, speak to the soundness of his policy as a monarch; and although this vindication leaves the blemish of ungodliness and of political hypocrisy on the memory of Constantine, it lays no blemish on the compliance of the other party in this great transaction; we mean of the church, in

¹ Rev. xii. 1, 5, 7, 9, 13-16.

having complied with the overtures which he made to them. *We read of the earth helping the woman, but we nowhere read that it is the duty of the woman to refuse this help.*"¹ This argument is transparently fallacious. If "the earth" means the European population generally, and "the woman" represents the church of Christ, it shows that the church may receive help from the people in any country, but the nature of the help is left undetermined. It may be the duty of the nations to help the church in one way, but unlawful to seek to help it in another. It may be right for them to protect it from violence by just laws, free institutions, and an effective police, while it is wrong to fetter it by a legislative union; as it may be right to help a friend in distress, by honest means, and wrong to employ on his behalf either fraud or falsehood. Indeed, the idea of the patronage of government is altogether foreign to the imagery which is here employed. The church in the prophecy is flying into the wilderness, how can it, then, be a national Establishment? And since the earth, *i. e.* the people, help the church, what can be symbolized by the flood threatening to destroy it, but some persecution of the governments? So that the prophecy, so understood, predicts not that the churches should be established, but that free churches when persecuted by government, should be aided by the people. But, according to Mr. Elliott, the woman means the true chosen church of the 144,000, or the first-born, whose names are written in heaven:² one ever faithful in heart, and in all essential doctrine. The child born was the Emperor Constantine;³ the dragon is Satan; and his persecution of the woman was the Arian persecution of true Christians under the Emperor Constantius and his successor Valens; or the persecution of the Puritans by the Establishment.⁴ By the woman's flight into the wilderness is meant, "the insulation of the true church from the rest of the world; invisibility in respect of its public worship, and destitution

¹ Lectures on Establishments, pp. 110, 111.

² *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, by Rev. E. Elliott, 2d ed. vol. iii. pp. 7, 8.

³ *Ib.* pp. 19, 20.

of all means of spiritual sustenance.”¹ “Christ’s spiritual church, the blessed company of all faithful people, began, soon after the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire, and through the half century following, to flee toward the wilderness ; in other words, to vanish rapidly in its distinctive features from the public view.”²

By the flood which issued from the dragon’s mouth is intended the invasion of the empire by the Visigoths, Goths, and Vandals.³ And the help of the woman by the earth, is the assistance then given to the true church by the Roman population. “Superstitious and earthly though the Roman population had become, yet thus far they did service to Christ’s church in her present exigency. In those continuous and bloody wars, of which the Western world had been the theater, the barbarous invading population was so thinned, so absorbed, as it were, into the land they had invaded, that it needed their incorporation as one people with the conquered to make up the necessary constituency of the kingdoms. And in this incorporation not only was much of their original institutions, customs, and languages, absorbed, but their religion altogether. The successive tribes, whether of Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Heruli, Huns, Vandals, or Burgundians, abandoned their paganism for Christianity.”⁴

According to Professor Stuart, the woman is the church ; her son is the Messiah, the dragon is Satan ; the persecution, in verse 13, is that persecution of Christians which followed the first preaching of the Gospel ; the flight into the wilderness, verse 14, is the retirement of the early Christians from persecution into the most remote places ; the flood cast after in her flight, verse 15, is the increased persecution of Christians by the Jews ; and “the civil and military power of the Romans bearing down with great force upon the Jews at this period, and obliging them to seek their own personal safety, instead of pursuing schemes of vengeance upon Christians, is symbolized here by the earth’s helping the woman.”⁵

¹ Horæ Apoc. iii. 34.

² Ib. pp. 34, 35.

³ Ib. pp. 47-49.

⁴ Ib. p. 51.

⁵ “Commentary on the Apocalypse,” ad loc.

These expositions are sufficient to manifest how futile the attempt must be to deduce from this prediction any argument in favor of the union between Church and State. If the former exposition be adopted, the earth helped the woman, or the people helped the church, when the Roman population, which had previously, by its Arianism, driven the church into the wilderness, now changed the paganism of the Goths and Vandals into its own spurious Christianity. If the latter be preferred, the earth helped the woman, or the people helped the church, when the Roman armies, overrunning Judea and laying siege to Jerusalem, suspended the violence of its Jewish persecutors. In the one case the established Jewish Church was persecuting the Christians, in the other the established Arian Churches were driving them into obscurity; in neither case were they basking in the favor of any kingly government, and, therefore, neither exposition affords the slightest support to the union between the British Churches and the State.

If the foregoing passages of Scripture from both Testaments were rightly expounded in favor of the union, they impose on each government an obligation at once and under any circumstances to erect an Establishment or to resign their functions to other hands. But even the most devoted adherents of the principle shrink from this conclusion. Mr. Gladstone avows that the duty of a State in this matter is determined by its circumstances. "The obligations of the State to religion must, of course, be limited by the subsisting constitution of a country."¹ If, therefore, the constitution forbids an Establishment, as in the United States, the duty of the State to institute it ceases. But, since the law of man can not supersede the law of God, if the existing constitution of a country can supersede the duty to institute an Establishment, there can be no divine command to institute it; and, according to Mr. Gladstone's most just conclusion, all the texts cited to prove such command must be falsely applied. If there be a divine injunction by which States are required to establish Christian churches, this duty can be contingent upon no circumstances: it is

¹ The State, &c. vol. i. p. 300.

as much a duty to establish churches in Canada as in Great Britain, and in India as in Canada. Mr. Gladstone's good sense has shown him that this is impossible. "The principle upon which alone," he says, "as I apprehend, our colonies, speaking generally, can be governed, is that of preserving the good-will of their inhabitants. The highest function of the State, with regard to them, seems to be this: to arbitrate among the different elements of which their societies are composed, and gently to endeavor to give a moral predominance to the nobler over the meaner of those elements;"¹ a maxim which is altogether at variance with the idea of an obligation laid on rulers by the word of God to establish religion.

On the other hand, the intimations in the New Testament, that God requires the separation of the Christian churches from the State are unequivocal.

Let us first examine our Lord's statement to Pilate of the nature of his kingdom, contained in the two narratives of Luke and John. "*The whole multitude of them arose and led him to Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a king. And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the king of the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest it. Then said Pilate to the chief priests and to the people, I find no fault in this man.*"² Our Lord was charged with claiming to be king of the Jews, and therefore, as king, claiming tribute from them, and forbidding that the Jews should pay tribute to the Roman emperor, Tiberius. Pilate, therefore, as governor, asked him whether the accusation was true, that he did claim to be king of the Jews. Jesus acknowledged its truth, and yet so explained the character of his claim, that Pilate saw it to be compatible with the reign of the emperor, and declared, in consequence, that he found him guilty of no crime against the Roman law. By this account of St. Luke it is plain, first, that Jesus did claim to be king of the Jews, according to the charge brought

¹ The State, &c. vol. ii. p. 313

² Luke xxiii. 1-4.

against him by his enemies ; but, secondly, that it was such a dominion as was compatible with the dominion of the emperor. Now a secular dominion would not have been compatible with it. The dominion of the emperor, obtained by conquest, and consolidated by imperial laws, was supported by taxation, and rested ultimately upon force. If Jesus had claimed to be king of the Jews in the same sense in which Tiberius was their king, then his laws must be substituted for those of Rome, his right to tax the nation for the expenditure of his government must destroy the emperor's right, and that right must be enforced by his army. In this case Pilate must necessarily have pronounced him to be the enemy of Cæsar ; and when, instead, the governor declared that he found in him no fault at all, it is clear that in the opinion of the governor he claimed no right of enacting a new code of civil and of criminal law ; he did not mean to maintain his government by taxation ; nor would he collect a revenue by force.

The narrative of St. John places these facts in a still clearer light : “ *Then Pilate entered into the judgment-hall again, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the king of the Jews ? Jesus answered him, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me ? Pilate answered, Am I a Jew ? Thine own nation and the chief-priests have delivered thee unto me : what hast thou done ? Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world : if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews : but now is my kingdom not from hence. Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then ? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate saith unto him, What is truth ? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault at all.*”¹ Jesus was charged with claiming to be king. Pilate, therefore, having asked whether he

¹ John xviii. 33-38.

was the king of the Jews, Jesus, before answering that question, demanded whether he had asked this from any thing which he had himself observed, apparently intending to direct the attention of Pilate and of others to the fact, that the malice of the priests, and not any public misconduct of his, had occasioned his arrest. Pilate, answering that he was no Jew, but that the priests had brought him before that tribunal, asked him what his offense was. Jesus now replied to the original question, whether he was the king of the Jews, thus : “ *My kingdom is not of this world : if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews ; but now is my kingdom not from hence.*” The object of his answer was, to clear himself of the charge of rebellion. Now, this might be done in either of three ways. He might have denied his claim to be king, and then the whole accusation would fall ; or, asserting his divine supremacy, he might have declared that he was the spiritual and the secular king of the Jews, to whom the emperor was bound to submit, in which case Pilate must either have become his disciple, or he must have declared him guilty of rebellion ; or, thirdly, he might have maintained that he was king of the Jews, and yet admit the imperial authority of Tiberius, by explaining that his kingdom was spiritual, not secular : that between the spiritual dominion and the secular there was so complete a separation that the one could not interfere with the other ; and that, in consequence, he could be no rival of the emperor. And this was, in fact, the substance of his answer : “ *My kingdom is not of this world : if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews : but now is my kingdom not from hence.*” It is clear that Pilate was permitted by our Lord so to understand it ; because, when Pilate further asked, whether, then, he claimed to be a king, he answered, “ Thou sayest (right) that I am a king.” While he stood there, charged with rebellion, because he declared himself to be king of the Jews, he freely admitted that he did advance that claim, and yet Pilate pronounced him to be

wholly innocent, which he could not have done except on the understanding that his dominion was exclusively spiritual. The accusation by the priests was, "*We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a king.*"¹ The answer of Jesus is "*My kingdom is not of this world; I claim no tribute, and I forbid no tribute to Cæsar.*" Their charge was, "*He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry.*"² His answer was, "*My kingdom is not of this world. I raise no armies to maintain my rights.*" Their allegation was, "*Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar.*"³ His answer was, "*My kingdom is not of this world,* and therefore I can be no enemy to the reign of Cæsar." If the kingdom of Christ were to be maintained by taxation and by force, like all secular powers, then his throne must subvert that of Cæsar; and therefore, when he satisfied Pilate that he was no enemy of Cæsar, by asserting that his kingdom was not of this world, it is plain that it should not be maintained by taxation and by force. Further, Pilate understood our Lord to mean that his kingdom would never be so maintained; for if our Lord had said, *My kingdom is not now of this world, not now maintained by taxation and by force*, Pilate would at once have seen that it might shortly be strong enough to become a secular kingdom, maintained by force. And as it would then subvert the throne of Cæsar, he would have felt bound to condemn our Lord. To defend himself from the charge of rivalry to the Roman emperor, it was necessary to inform Pilate that his dominion would be so entirely spiritual that it never could interfere with the rights of the emperor. And of this he did convince Pilate by saying, "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" This was therefore the legitimate meaning of his words; and IN THEM HE HAS SOLEMNLY TAUGHT US, THAT HIS DOMINION IS ENTIRELY AND FOREVER DISTINCT FROM SECULAR DOMINION; THAT HE RULES OVER MEN'S HEARTS AND CONSCIENCES; THAT HE WILL EVER ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN HIS RULE WITHOUT THE AID OF THE TAX-

¹ Luke xxiii. 2.² Verse 5.³ John xix. 12.

GATHERER AND THE SOLDIER ; THAT HE EMPLOYS NO COERCION, AND WILL NEVER RESORT TO MILITARY FORCE.

But the union in England, being intended to advance his dominion by maintaining his ministers, seeks that end by the taxation of the realm for the support of his ministers, and then employs force to sustain that taxation. Christ declared to Pilate that his dominion should never be maintained by taxation and by force, and the churches of England declare that it shall be so maintained. He pronounced his kingdom to be purely spiritual, they declare that it shall be spiritual and secular ; and their decision is in flagrant opposition to his will.

Another important passage in which the complete separation of the spiritual administration of the churches from the secular administration of the government is enjoined by our Lord, is the following : *"Then went the Pharisees and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk. And they sent out unto him their disciples with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man, for thou regardest not the persons of men, tell us, therefore, what thinkest thou ? Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not ? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites ? Show me the tribute-money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription ? They say unto him, Cæsar's. Then saith he unto them, Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's ; AND UNTO GOD THE THINGS THAT ARE GOD'S."*¹ Pompey having about 120 years before this time subjugated Judea to the Romans, it became a Roman province.² In these circumstances, the Pharisees maintained that it was unlawful to pay tribute to the emperor because God had declared that they must not choose a foreigner to be their king ; they were the special people of God, and he alone was their king.³ When formerly the king of Syria had

¹ Matt. xxii. 15-21.

² Jos. Ant. xiv. 4, 4.

³ Deut. xvii. 14, 15 ; Exod. xxiii. 32 ; Deut. vii. 2.

brought them under his yoke, their fathers had, with the blessing of God, thrown the yoke off.¹ Frequently, too, under judges raised up and inspired by God, they had vindicated their liberties against the tyranny of the surrounding nations: God had enabled them to burst from their servitude in Egypt; and Hezekiah, with his Almighty aid, had successfully rebelled against the king of Assyria.² Under instructions like these the people became very impatient of the tribute imposed upon them, and nearly the whole nation was ready to revolt.³ The Herodians, that is, the adherents of Herod, maintained, on the contrary, that it was lawful to pay tribute, their patron being supported by the Romans. These two parties were much opposed to one another; but a common hatred having now united them against Jesus, some of each party came together to him pretending to be religious persons (Luke xx. 20), who had the highest respect for his wisdom and probity, to ask him to determine for them this much-agitated question, whether they ought to pay or not (v. 22, and Mark. xii. 14, 15) the tribute or poll-tax, which was payable by every person whose name was taken in the census. If he declared the payment to be lawful, they would make him odious to the people, who detested it; if he declared it to be unlawful, they would charge him with sedition—as they afterward did.⁴ And this was their chief design.⁵ Jesus asked to see the νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου, the coin in which the poll-tax was paid; upon which they brought to him the Roman penny, which bore upon it the head of the emperor with this inscription, Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου. Ἰουδαίας ἐαλωκῆας—Cæsar Augustus, such a year after the taking of Judea.⁶ The current coin of the country being thus Roman, proved that they were under subjection to the Roman emperor, Tiberius. And having obliged them to notice this fact, our Lord replied to their question, “*Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s*;

¹ 1 Mac. ii. 24, 68; iii. 59, &c.

² 2 Kings xviii. 17.

³ Jos. Ant. xviii. pp. 1–6; B. ii. 17, 8; ii. 16, 4; B. v. 9, 3; B. iii. 8, 4.

⁴ Luke xxiii. 2.

⁵ Luke xx. 20.

⁶ Hammond, ad loc.

AND UNTO GOD THE THINGS WHICH ARE GOD'S." Civil government, which was necessary to prevent universal anarchy and crime, must be upheld by taxation. It was equitable that in return for its advantages they should pay for its support. To be loyal subjects to a prince who had conquered them was a very different thing from choosing a foreigner for their king. God had commanded their fathers to serve their conqueror, the king of Babylon,¹ and they were ordered to seek the peace of his kingdom.² To pay tribute and to render obedience in all secular matters to Cæsar was only to render to the sovereign his due, and instead of interfering with their duty to God, was part of that duty. Nor were they responsible for the use which Cæsar might make of any part of that tribute. Order must be maintained by law ; law must be administered by civil officers, and supported, if necessary, by the military force, for which a revenue was requisite. And if the emperor were to employ any surplus in the erection of heathen temples, in contributing to licentious theaters, or in enriching worthless favorites, they were not implicated in this irreligious or profligate expenditure. But the claims of the emperor must not interfere with superior claims. If they were to render to Cæsar the things of Cæsar, they must also render to God the things of God. The things of Cæsar were tribute and obedience to the law ; the things of God were faith, worship, and obedience. When Cæsar claimed the payment of the tribute, he claimed what was his due ; but should he claim dominion over conscience, affect to control their creed, or interfere to regulate their worship, then he usurped the rights of God, and must be resisted. When Antiochus Epiphanes ordered their fathers to discontinue their sacrifices, to profane their Sabbaths, to deliver up their Bibles, and to set up idols in their country, their fathers justly refused obedience.³ In the same spirit the three Hebrew youths, though faithful subjects to Nebuchadnezzar, refused to bow down to his golden image ; and Daniel, though blameless in his office as the prime-minister of Darius, openly defied the decree which forbade the sub-

¹ Jer. xxvii. 12-17.² Jer. xxix. 7.³ 1 Mac. i. 41, 64.

jects of that prince for thirty days to pray to God. In paying tribute they would render to Cæsar the things of Cæsar, and in an unreserved obedience to the laws of God, both moral and ceremonial, they would render to God the things of God.

Our Lord thus established a plain rule of action. In all secular things which do not interfere with the law of God the sovereign is to be obeyed ; but if the sovereign assumes the rights which belong exclusively to God, he must be therein disobeyed and resisted.

By this answer our Lord baffled his enemies. They could not accuse him to the people because he maintained that the whole law of God must be obeyed against all contrary commands ; and they could not denounce him to the Romans, because he taught that all the rights of Cæsar were to be conscientiously upheld. By this answer he condemned the Pharisees, who refused to Cæsar the things of Cæsar ; and the Herodians, who neglected to pay to God the things of God. When the Pharisees claimed entire obedience to the law of God, he assented to their doctrine, but condemned them for being seditious ; when the Herodians claimed submission to the sovereign, he likewise assented to that opinion, but condemned them for allowing violation of the commands of God. All that was right in each opinion he established ; all that was wrong he repudiated. In these few words he escaped their snare, condemned their errors, and established a maxim of universal application.

Let us consider what use the early churches would make of this direction. If the Jews were to render to Cæsar the things of Cæsar, so were the Christians ; if the former were to render to God the things of God, so were the latter. They would, therefore, study to be quiet and orderly subjects, but, just as the Jews, they would allow no emperor to exercise any control over their faith, their worship, or their discipline. Had Nero or Caligula attempted to nominate their pastors, direct their places and hours of worship, or regulate the admission of candidates to baptism and the Lord's Supper, they would have repelled

a dictation which would have been incompatible with the rights of the Almighty, and would have declared that they must render to God the things of God. Since they were bound to obey God in all things, there were the strongest reasons why the emperor should exercise no control over them in matters of religion. Being a heathen, he could not know the will of God ; and as his commands in spiritual matters would constantly oppose the commands of God, his exercise of any spiritual superintendence over the churches would bring them either into perpetual collision with his authority, or into corrupt acquiescence in his caprice. The only way to avoid both these evils was to establish a complete separation between the temporal and the spiritual ; and, while respecting the supreme authority of Cæsar in all secular matters, to allow him no authority whatever in spiritual matters.

These reasons apply in all their force to an irreligious State bearing the Christian name. No State, however pious, has received any authority from God to superintend his churches ; and the churches can not therefore communicate that authority in any case without rendering to Cæsar the things of God : but an irreligious State must be still more unfit to exercise it. If, also, an irreligious State has any control over the churches in spiritual things, it is so likely to enact what is contrary to the law of Christ, that the churches would be in danger either of frequent collision with it, or of criminal acquiescence in laws contrary to the law of Christ ; on which account the churches are bound to avoid the union with such a State. But the State in England is irreligious ; and so long as the House of Commons represents, as it ought to do, the community, and the community is not generally religious, it must continue to be so. Consequently the union between the English Churches and State is as much prohibited by this passage as the union was prohibited by it between the churches within the Roman empire and the Emperor Nero. The House of Commons, the most powerful member of the State, being composed of men of every character and opinion in religious matters, is unfitted to control the

creed, worship, or discipline of the churches ; and by nothing but a criminal indolence on the part of the churches, and by a cautious abstinence from legislation on the part of the State, the State declaring to the churches you shall reform nothing, and the churches replying to the State, " We consent to do nothing if you will do nothing likewise," that those collisions are avoided, in which the churches would be forced to recognize that, under the union, they render to Cæsar more than the things of Cæsar, and do not render to God the things of God.

Whether if the State were wholly composed of religious men, it could usefully superintend the churches is a question merely speculative, because, upon the representative system, which is the best, and secures the greatest virtue in governments, no such State can exist until the constituency, that is, the mass of the people, become religious ; and then the alleged reasons for the union would vanish. Moreover, should it be conceded that such a pious State might exercise control over the churches, this could not establish the innocence of a permanent union ; because evangelical religion can not be transmitted from one party in power to another, from one House of Commons to another ; so that if the union should be formed under a pious State, it would speedily connect the churches with an ungodly State. If a union of the church in Israel with Solomon had been tolerable, it would have been intolerable when Solomon's place was occupied by Rehoboam. If Hezekiah could usefully have superintended that church, Manasseh could not have done so. And as similar changes in the character of successive rulers must continually occur, the only safe arrangement must be the entire separation of the spiritual administration from the secular.

As this passage proves that it would have been unwise and culpable in the early churches to grant to Nero or Caligula a control over their doctrine, worship, and discipline, because these princes were irreligious, it equally proves it to be unwise to allow any such control over the churches within this country to the House of Commons, because it likewise is irreligious. Since Cæsar was pro-

hibited by this passage from exercising control over the churches, the House of Commons must be equally prohibited. If Cæsar might not nominate the bishops of Philippi, nor exercise a veto upon any article of the creed of the church at Corinth, nor determine who should be admitted to the Lord's table at Ephesus, because obedience to him in these things would hinder these churches from rendering to God the things which are God's, so neither ought the legislature or government in this kingdom to nominate prelates or pastors, forbid a revision of the creed of the churches, determine to whom baptism and the Lord's Supper shall be given, lest the churches should obey the State in violation of some divine law, and should thus fail to render unto God the things which are God's. The reason why Nero might not exercise any control over the churches was, that they might be at liberty to render to God the things which are God's; and the same reason binds the churches now to allow no spiritual control over them to the legislature. Since the law of God requires that the churches have godly pastors, that no one be baptized without a credible profession of repentance and faith, that the Gospel be preached to every creature, that all Christians should act as brethren, and that Christ should be supreme in his own house—if the State ordain that parishes should receive ungodly pastors, prohibit Christ's ministers from preaching the Gospel in parishes wherein the ministers are ungodly, compel by legal penalties parochial ministers to admit improper persons to the sacraments, and demand for the Crown a supremacy which is inconsistent with the supremacy of Christ, then the churches must render to God the things which are God's, and refuse obedience to the State. To avoid which collision, the churches should be separate from the State; and, while paying to it all secular obedience, should be free to accomplish, without its control, the whole law of Christ.

In the third chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews Christians are said to be Christ's house, or household, over which he rules;¹ over which, therefore, no stranger can be

¹ Heb. iii. 5, 6.

admitted to rule without his authority ; but by the union the State is admitted to that rule without his authority, and the churches in permitting it overthrow the rights of Christ over his own house.

In many passages Christ is spoken of as the king of his church,¹ and Christians are his subjects, over whom no others have any more right to exercise spiritual dominion than a foreign prince has right to give laws to us in England. And when Parliament gives laws to the Christian churches in England, it as much disregards the sovereignty of Christ as a French or German king, who should assume to legislate for Kent or Sussex, would disregard the sovereignty of her Majesty, the queen of this empire. But by the union Parliament does legislate for the churches, and thus invades the sovereign rights of Christ.

The church of Christ is represented in Scripture as his bride ;² over which he therefore has exclusive right to rule : and when any church therefore allows itself to be governed by any power which is separate from Christ, it is an adulterous infidelity to him, like that of which a wife would be guilty toward her husband who should place herself under the control of another man. But by the union the state, without Christ's authority, does thus rule over the churches of the Establishment ; and those churches, in consenting to it, are guilty of adulterous infidelity to Christ, as in other ways the Church of Rome has been.³

Christians being the children of God, the body of Christ, the temple of the Holy Ghost,⁴ are chosen out of the world by Christ,⁵ are not of the world,⁶ and are called to be distinct from the world.⁷ The friendship of the world being enmity to God,⁸ Christians must not love the world ;⁹ they must not be conformed to it ;¹⁰ but must separate from

¹ Matt. iii. 2 ; iv. 17 ; ix. 35 ; xiii. 38 ; xvi. 28 ; Luke xix. 12 ; John xviii. 36, 37 ; 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25 ; Col. i. 13 ; Heb. i. 8, &c.

² John iii. 29 ; Rev. xxi. 9 ; xxii. 17 ; Eph. v. 25-27.

³ Rev. xvii. 1-5.

⁴ John i. 12, 13 ; Gal. iii. 26 ; iv. 5 ; 1 Cor. xii. 12, 27 ; Eph. iv. 12 ; v. 30 ; 1 Cor. iii. 16 ; vi. 19 ; Eph. ii. 21.

⁵ John xv. 19.

⁶ John xvii. 14.

⁷ 1 John iii. 1 ; v. 19.

⁸ James iv. 4.

⁹ 1 John ii. 15.

¹⁰ Rom. xii. 2.

it in all but the necessary business of life. For thus has Christ ordered by his apostle, "*Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord,*"¹ &c. And these commands were so far obeyed by the first Christians, that the churches were composed of "saints and faithful brethren,"² who were epistles of Christ,³ and shone as lights in the world.⁴ If, therefore, any churches, instead of being composed of "saints and faithful brethren" separate from the world, admit all the world freely into fellowship with them, they have forsaken their calling, and have disregarded Christ's orders. But by the union there is in this country a complete fusion of the church and the world. Believers and unbelievers are not only associated in the business of life, but in all the functions of church members, without the smallest discrimination.

Our Lord has distinctly declared in his word who ought to become pastors of churches. They are directly appointed by him,⁵ and none are so appointed but those who are blameless, lovers of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful word.⁶ Unconverted ministers, unsound in doctrine, and unholy in life, are, on the contrary, termed by the Holy Ghost "wolves," and "ministers of Satan."⁷ Christians are commanded to guard against them.⁸ They must not listen to them,⁹ nor in any way assist them in their false teaching.¹⁰ And as the churches are bound not to receive such as pastors, but to see that their ministers are faithful men, in order to fulfill these duties, the first churches chose their own ministers.¹¹ When, therefore, any churches allow unconverted and unsound men to become their pastors, they are disregarding

¹ 2 Cor. vi. 14-18.

² 1 Cor. i. 2; Eph. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; 1 Thess. i. 6.

³ 2 Cor. iii. 3.

⁴ Phil. ii. 15.

⁵ Acts xx. 28; Eph. iv. 11, 12.

⁶ Tit. i. 5-9; 1 Tim. iii. 1-7.

⁷ Acts xx. 29; 2 Cor. xi. 15.

⁸ Matt. vii. 15, 16.

⁹ John x. 4, 5.

¹⁰ 2 John 10, 11.

¹¹ Acts i. 15, 23, 26; vi. 1-6.

all these divine directions. But, by the union, the churches do receive such pastors—and must ; for the State will ever maintain the rights of patrons : and so long as ungodly men can secure ordination, which they do, and ever will, in an Establishment, so long ungodly patrons can force ungodly pastors upon all the churches who criminally remain under the bondage of the union.

By the law of Christ, Christians ought to maintain their pastors. “ *Let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things.*¹ . . . *Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine. For the scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn : and, The laborer is worthy of his reward.*² . . . *Even so hath the Lord ordained that they who preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel.*”³ When, therefore, churches compel ministers to seek a salary from the world, and when they devolve upon others the burden of maintaining their pastors, they are neglecting their duty. But under the union the churches leave strangers to support their ministers, paying little or nothing themselves spontaneously toward their maintenance.

As under the Mosaic law all the payments for the support of religion were spontaneous, so at present God requires the same. The divine rule is, “ *Every man, according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give, not grudgingly, or of necessity, for GOD LOVETH A CHEERFUL GIVER.*”⁴ And all persecution is at variance with the spirit of the Gospel. But the union is entirely built on coercion. If the rent-charges, which are substituted for tithes, or the church-rates, are refused, they are seized by distraint : enemies or friends being alike compelled to pay them, however reluctant they may be.

It is the declared will of Christ that offending members should be put out of the churches, by the churches in conjunction with the ministers. Thus, if any professed Christian injures another, and will not listen to private

¹ Gal. vi. 6.

² 1 Tim. v. 17, 18.

³ 1 Cor. ix. 14.

⁴ 2 Cor. ix. 7.

remonstrances, our Lord has given this direction respecting his case ; “ *If he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church : but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen man and a publican.*”¹ To this the apostles have added similar injunctions to the churches : “ *I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.*”² *I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner ; with such a one no not to eat. Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person.*”³ *Now, we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.*”⁴ What congregation within the Establishment obeys these commands ? The State will not allow them.

According to the declarations of Christ and his apostles, all Christians are brethren, bound to love one another, and to treat one another with kindness.⁵ But the union exalts one class of Christians and depresses all the rest ; excludes faithful ministers of Christ from the pulpits of the Establishment, if they are nonconformists ; shuts out pious men, if they are not Episcopalians, from the universities ; forces many, against their conscience, to support a system which they condemn ; and thus creates a permanent schism among the churches of Christ.

Lastly, Christ gave to his followers, before his departure, these commands : “ *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.*”⁶ When the apostles were

¹ Matt. xviii. 17.

² Rom. xvi. 17.

³ 1 Cor. v. 11.

⁴ 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.

⁵ Matt. xxiii. 8 ; Gal. i. 2 ; Col. i. 2 ; John xiii. 34, 35 ; Rom. xiv. 1 ; xv. 7 ; 1 John iii. 14 ; Matt. xxv. 34-40.

⁶ Mark xvi. 15.

commanded by the sanhedrim not to preach, they replied, "*We ought to obey God rather than men,*" and preached on.¹ When a severe persecution at Jerusalem scattered the church of that place, "*They that were scattered abroad went every where preaching the word.*"² Those churches, therefore, sin, who assent to any law by which they are hindered from obeying these commands of Christ. But the union does hinder them. For while there are hundreds, and, I fear, thousands, of parishes in this country where the Gospel is never preached, no minister of the Establishment may preach the Gospel in one of them without the consent of the incumbent. The apostles would not have agreed so to abandon the towns and villages of Judea.

It may here occur to some readers that as few of these passages directly and explicitly forbid the union between Churches and States, the duty of separation, being a matter of inference merely, can neither be plain or so important as its advocates allege. But will this opinion endure examination? Are there not many pious adherents of Establishments who hold the divine institution of episcopacy, who believe that they are bound to consecrate the Lord's day, that Christians ought to assemble periodically for public worship, that infants ought to be baptized, that the Lord's Supper is of perpetual obligation, that slavery and war are anti-Christian, &c., &c.? Not one of these doctrines has so much scriptural evidence in its support as this of the separation of the Church from the State. In the Scriptures there are principles of action established which apply to innumerable cases where they occur; and the principles which ought to compel the churches to separate from the State are abundantly stated in the New Testament. But generally those evils alone were directly prohibited which were then in existence; and the danger of the union of the Church and State was then at the distance of two centuries and a half. Doubtless God has seen it to be better for Christians that there should be no more direct command on this and on some other important points. One reason we can easily perceive. Very plain

¹ Acts v. 29; iv. 19, 20; v. 42.

² Acts viii. 1-4.

commands would have superseded the necessity of inquiring into principles, whereas now the separation, whenever it shall occur, will be the result of a more complete understanding of the nature of a Christian church, and of a more childlike disposition to obey every intimation of the will of God.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNION BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND STATE IN ENGLAND CONDEMNED BY THE WORD OF GOD.

FROM those general considerations, which manifest that the union of Churches with States is contrary to the design of our Lord, and unsuitable from the character of a Christian church, let us proceed to consider how far some of the particular principles of the union in England are consistent with the declarations of the will of God which we find in the New Testament. The principles which will come under our review are the maintenance of Christian pastors by the State, the supremacy of the State, patronage, the selection of one denomination, and the support of the Establishment by coercion.

SECTION I.—*On the Maintenance of Christian Pastors by the State.*

Whatever private gifts of tithes or lands have been made to the clergy of this country, their possession of tithes throughout England and Wales must be traced to law. "About the year 794, Offa, king of Mercia, made a law, by which he gave unto the church the tithes of all his kingdom."¹ "This law of Offa was that which first gave the church a civil right in them in this land, by way of property and inheritance, and enabled the clergy to gather and receive them as their legal due by coercion of the civil power."² This right of the clergy to tithe, which was created by law, has been since confirmed, by the

¹ Burns' "Ecclesiastical Law," 9th edit. vol. iii. p. 679.

² Ib. p. 680.

same authority. By 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 7, "All persons of this realm . . . shall fully pay all tithes according to the lawful customs of the parishes whence such tithes become due."¹ By 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 13, "All persons shall pay all manner of parochial tithes as of right or custom ought to have been paid."² Further, the right of the clergy to a great proportion of the tithes paid in modern times has been created by statute since the Reformation; for by 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 13, "All such barren heath or waste ground which before this time hath lain barren, and paid no tithes by reason of the same barrenness, and now be, or hereafter shall be, improved and converted into arable ground or meadow, shall, after the end of seven years next after such improvement, pay tithe for corn and hay growing on the same."³ Thus the tithe, which is the chief maintenance of the pastors within the Establishment: has been given to them by the State, and a large part has been given since the Reformation.

The temporalities of the bishops have been no less the State's gift. A bishop's temporalities are all such things as bishops have by livery from the king, as castles, manors, lands, &c.⁴ Of thist here is a double proof: first, the bishop is obliged to do homage for them to the Crown; and secondly, during the vacancy of each see, the temporalities go to the crown as the existing possessor. "When a bishop is invested and consecrated, the bishop being introduced to the king's presence, shall do his homage for his temporalities or barony;"⁵ and, "Upon the falling of a void bishopric, not the new bishop, but the king by his prerogative, hath the temporalities thereof, from the time that the same became void, to the time that the new bishop shall receive them from the king."⁶

All this church property having thus been bestowed by the State upon the bishops and clergy, the State has determined upon what terms it shall be held, and by the Act of Uniformity transferred the whole from the Roman Catholic to the Protestant clergy. By that act, 1 Elizabeth,

¹ Burns, vol. iii. p. 743.

² Ib. p. 745.

³ Ib. p. 685.

⁴ Ib. vol. i. p. 226.

⁵ Ib. p. 211.

⁶ Ib. p. 226.

“Every parson, vicar, or other minister, was required to use the book of common prayer in the public services of the church, and no other rite, ceremony, order, or form. Every clergyman violating this law was, for the first offense, to forfeit a year’s stipend and be imprisoned six months; and for the second offense, to be imprisoned a year, and be deprived of all his spiritual promotions, and the patron might present to his living as if he were dead.” This of course ejected the sincere Catholics, placing Protestant ministers in their room; and by this act the Protestant pastors of England hold the State ecclesiastical property at this day, instead of the Roman Catholic priests who before possessed it. Up to the Reformation it was a gift of the State to the Roman Catholic Establishment. After the Reformation it was a gift of the State to the Protestant Establishment, which holds it to this day on the terms which the State has imposed.

By 6 and 7 William IV., the temporalities of the bishops were redistributed, and their incomes to a certain extent equalized.¹ And by 6 and 7 William IV., 7 William IV., 1 Victoria, cap. 69, 1 and 2 Victoria, cap. 64, and 2 and 3 Victoria, cap. 32, a corn-rent, payable in money and PERMANENT IN QUANTITY, though fluctuating in value, was substituted throughout England and Wales for tithes.² By these acts the legislature has exercised the right of redistributing and of *restricting the growth of church property* at its pleasure; since the effect of a fixed corn-rent is to exempt from tithes all lands which are henceforth brought into cultivation, to restrain the clergyman from taking advantage of any improvements in cultivation, and immensely to diminish the marketable value of each living. By 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 13, the tithe-owner may sue for tithe in the ecclesiastical court;³ and by 6 and 7 William IV. cap. 71, when the rent-charge is in arrear for twenty-one days after the yearly days of payment, the person entitled thereto may distrain.⁴

From these various acts it appears—

1. That the right of the clergy to tithes was origi-

¹ Burns. i. 195.

² Ib. iii. 698.

³ Ib. 750.

⁴ Ib. 733.

nally founded not on private gifts but on public enactments.

2. That the church property of the bishops is a gift from the crown.

3. That the church property of this part of the kingdom was transferred by act of Parliament from Catholic priests to Protestant pastors.

4. That the State is the proprietor of this church property, which it grants, resumes, distributes, increases, or diminishes, as it thinks fit.

5. That all persons holding titheable property must contribute to the maintenance of the clergy, whether they approve of the contribution or not, since the clergy may enforce the payment of their dues by process of law.

Upon a consideration of this method of maintaining the pastors of churches we come to two questions : 1. Is it agreeable to Scripture ? 2. Does it work well ? The second question will be more conveniently examined in another part of this work ; let us now consider what directions the churches have received in the New Testament respecting the maintenance of their pastors.

Before our Lord left the earth, he enjoined upon his disciples to "*go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.*"¹ Agreeably to which command, not only did the apostles preach Christ in various lands, but when the church of Jerusalem was scattered by persecution, its members "*went every where preaching the word,*"² by whose means many were converted in Antioch and in other places.³ From the Thessalonian church "*sounded out the word of the Lord in Macedonia and Achaia.*"⁴ The Christians of Philippi shone "*as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life ;*"⁵ and so zealously did the first Christians fulfill our Lord's command, that Paul, writing to the Colossians, could say, "*The truth of the gospel is come unto you as it is in all the world . . . Which ye have heard, and which has been preached to every creature which is under heaven.*"⁶

¹ Mark xvi. 15.

² Acts viii. 4.

³ Acts xi. 19-21.

⁴ 1 Thess. i. 8.

⁵ Phil. ii. 15, 16.

⁶ Col. i. 6, 23.

But this duty was not left entirely to the zeal of private believers. The practice of the apostles, as well as their language, has proved that it was Christ's will that the best qualified members of churches should be consecrated to the ministry. Paul and Barnabas were solemnly set apart to their apostolic mission by the presbyters at Antioch.¹ Presbyters were appointed by the apostles and their companions in all the churches which they founded.² There were presbyters in the church of Ephesus,³ in the church at Philippi,⁴ in the Jewish churches,⁵ and in the churches which were addressed by St. Peter.⁶ And pastors and evangelists are thus spoken of as a permanent ordinance of Christ: "*When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men . . . And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.*"⁷ Hence minute directions are given in the Epistles to Timothy and to Titus respecting the class of persons who alone should be appointed to this ministry.⁸ Although the ministers thus appointed may labor for their maintenance when circumstances require it, as Paul did in various places,⁹ yet it is generally their duty to leave secular employments, that they may devote themselves wholly to the ministry;¹⁰ and on this account they ought to be maintained. Excluded from all lucrative employments which they might have pursued, and consecrating their time and faculties to the service of the churches, they ought to be maintained by them. Our Lord's will has been distinctly declared in this matter by the following statement of St. Paul: "*Do ye not know that they which*

¹ Acts xiii. 1.

² Acts xiv. 23; Tit. i. 5.

³ Acts xx. 17.

⁴ Phil. i. 1.

⁵ Heb. xiii. 7, 17.

⁶ 1 Pet. v. 1-4.

⁷ Eph. iv. 8-13.

⁸ 1 Tim. iii.; Tit. i.

⁹ Acts xviii. 3; xx. 34, 35; 1 Cor. ix. 12-15; 1 Thess. ii. 9.

¹⁰ Acts vi. 2-4. 1 Tim. ii. 4; iv. 15.

*minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel,"*¹ With this express enactment they may be satisfied; since he has promised to those who seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, that all necessary temporal supplies shall be added to them.² And having declared that he will be with them as the preachers of his gospel to the end of time, he can not let them want.³ His own faithful care is the provision for his ministers; we may say of them much more than of the Levites, "*The Lord God is their inheritance.*"⁴ Christ who has appointed that they shall be maintained, will secure their maintenance.

But the mode of their support was not left undecided. Our Lord has shown, by the parable of the sheep and goats, how highly he esteems kindness which is done to his followers for his sake.⁵ All Christians being members of one body are required to sympathize with each member in distress.⁶ Even foreign brethren in distress are to be the objects of systematic liberality.⁷ Those churches in the apostolic era were praised who gave largely to relieve the wants of foreign Christians;⁸ and the Corinthians were exhorted to imitate the good example.⁹ These general principles would go far to secure a provision for ministers from the justice and generosity, the faith and the love, of pious churches. But in addition to these the churches have received special injunctions respecting the support of their ministers. "*Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? and who feedeth the flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? . . . It is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. . . . If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we*

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14. ² Matt. vi. 25-33. ³ Matt. xxviii. 20.

⁴ Josh. xiii. 33.

⁵ Matt. xxv. 34-40.

⁶ 1 Cor. xii. 12, 26, 27.

⁷ 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

⁸ 2 Cor. viii. 1-6.

⁹ 2 Cor. viii. 7, 13, 14; ix. 6, 7.

shall reap your carnal things? Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the Gospel.”¹ If ministers labor for the churches, the churches should maintain them. As the soldier who fights for his country is provided for, as the shepherd receives wages for the care of the flock, as the ox who threshed out the corn was allowed to eat it, and as the priests were maintained for their attendance at the temple, so it is the will of Christ that pastors should be maintained by the churches. Indeed, this is matter of common gratitude, since temporal support is afforded in return for spiritual benefits; and of common justice, because “the workman is worthy of his meat.”² In the 6th chapter of the Epistle to the Galatian churches, the will of Christ is again thus expressed: “Let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things.”³ To the Thessalonians was this exhortation given—“We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love for their work’s sake.”⁴ And Timothy, who was left at Ephesus to organize the church there, received from Paul the following directions with respect to the pastors: “Let the elders who rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine. For the scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn; and The laborer is worthy of his reward.”⁵ All these injunctions commit the honorable support of their pastors to the justice and generosity, to the faith and the love of the churches: and as Christ’s authority can never be disregarded by his disciples, they are a surer and more permanent support than any which can be secured to them by legal enactments.

Less distinctly and repeatedly, but still with sufficient

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 7, 9, 11, 13, 14.

² Matt. x. 10.

³ Gal. vi. 6.

⁴ 1 Thess. v. 12, 13.

⁵ 1 Tim. v. 18.

clearness, has our Lord intimated his will that evangelists also should be maintained by Christians. When St. Paul left Philippi, that he might preach the Gospel to the heathens throughout Macedonia and Greece, the church at Philippi sent him the supplies which he needed, and were declared by him to "have done well."¹ When they further sent him relief to Rome, he declared that it was "a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God."² And St. John thus commended the liberality of Gaius toward certain Christian missionaries: "*Beloved, thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren and to strangers; which have borne witness of thy charity before the church: whom, if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well: because that for his name's sake they went forth taking nothing of the Gentiles. We, therefore, ought to receive such, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth.*"³

By the former series of passages the churches are commanded to support their pastors; by this they are urged to maintain home and foreign missions till the Gospel is "preached to every creature."

The obedience to these injunctions manifested by the more exemplary of the apostolic churches, well illustrates the amount of the provision thus made by our Lord for his ministers. As we have already noticed, the poor and persecuted church at Philippi not only gave beyond their means to supply the wants of their poorer brethren in Judea, but also sent aid to Paul when he was preaching to the heathen.⁴ And the church at Jerusalem afforded an instance of self-denying charity which I suppose to be wholly without parallel; for, when the bigotry of the Jews necessarily reduced many of them to want, the rest threw all their property into a common fund, by which the wants of all were supplied.⁵

Thus, by the liberality of the churches, and the self-denial of the ministers, it is evident that pastors were provided for all the churches at a time when few rich persons

¹ Phil. iv. 14, 16.

² Phil. iv. 18.

³ 3 John 5, 8.

⁴ 2 Cor. viii. 1-5; Phil. iv. 16-18.

⁵ Acts ii. 47; iv. 34.

ventured to profess faith in Christ. Ephesus had its presbyters ; Philippi its bishops and deacons ; all the churches of Asia Minor and Crete had their ministers ; the Hebrews had theirs ; and there is no reason to think that any churches were without them.¹

Upon a review of these passages it appears—

1. That it is the will of Christ that there should be pastors for the churches, and evangelists to preach the Gospel to the whole world.

2. That Christ has commanded each church to maintain its pastor when possible.

3. That if a church be too poor other churches ought to aid.

4. That the churches should likewise support evangelists who preach to the heathen.

5. That Christ has committed to his universal church the duty of supporting his ministers throughout the world.

6. That if in any case a pastor or evangelist can not obtain adequate support from his Christian brethren, that he may labor in any secular calling for his own maintenance.

It is obvious that there is a marked contrast between the system which Christ has ordained for the maintenance of his ministers, and that which has been preferred by the Anglican churches under the union.

According to the law of Christ, the pastor is to be maintained by the zeal of the church ; according to the union, he is maintained by act of Parliament.

According to the law of Christ, he should be maintained by the believers ; according to the union, he is maintained by persons of every class, including Roman Catholics, Unitarians, infidels, and profligates.

According to the law of Christ, he should be maintained by those who contribute of their own property ; according to the union, the State has voted away the property of others to maintain him.

According to the law of Christ, all the offerings made

¹ Acts xx. 17 ; Phil. i. 1 ; Acts xiv. 23 ; Tit. i. 5 ; Heb. xiii. 7, 17 ; 1 Pet. v. 1-4 ; James v. 14.

for his support should be free ; by the union, they are paid under the terror of distraint.

The moral influences of these two systems for the support of the ministers of Christ are very opposite.

The system appointed by Christ is the most just, because, according to it, those only pay for instruction who receive it ; while, according to the Anglican system, all must pay, whether they receive it or not.

The system appointed by Christ calls Christians to pay, who pay freely, because they have a debt to discharge, both to Christ and to their pastors ; whereas the Anglican system forces many to pay, who would refuse it if they could.

The system appointed by Christ exercises the faith and love of believers, who thus make a grateful offering to him ; but the Anglican system extorts from unbelievers, by fear of the law, a tax which is reluctantly paid to the State.

The system appointed by Christ is much more for the comfort of a pious minister, because he can receive with thankfulness and joy what his brethren contribute with liberality and affection, in duty to Christ and in justice to him ; while under the Anglican system he must extort his income, by force of law, from those who, possibly, curse both him and his religion while they pay it.

The system appointed by Christ tends to attract both ministers and people to each other, since under it ministers, receiving their support from the affection of their flocks, feel grateful for it, and the people find that to do a kindness is as much a source of affection as to receive it ; but the Anglican system alienates both parties, the pastor having to complain of arrears and of evasions of payment, while the flock are tempted to think their shepherd selfish and severe.

The system of Christ, demanding the support of the pastors from those only who appreciate the value of the truth, and contribute freely, attracts ungodly persons to hear the Gospel without money and without price ; but the Anglican system, which taxes them for what they disbelieve or despise, shuts their ears against the truth.

The system of Christ manifests to the world the power

of religion, which they can in some degree measure by the sacrifices which Christians freely make for its support ; while the Anglican system makes the world believe that Christians are as selfish and covetous as they are themselves, and would not support their pastors unless they were forced to do so.

Lastly, according to the system appointed by Christ, the best ministers are generally the best supported, because Christians can appreciate grace as well as gifts in their pastors ; but under the Anglican system, the richest livings go to those who are related to patrons, and thus the worst ministers are frequently the best paid, and the churches are beset with those who have sought the ministry only for its emoluments.

If these observations are correct, Christians who allow their pastors to be paid by the State disregard the will of Christ ; impeach his wisdom ; neglect their duty ; injure their Christian characters ; manifest a wordly selfishness by seeking to escape from a just remuneration for services received ; beg alms for Christ's officers from Christ's enemies ; excite prejudice against the Gospel in the minds of irreligious tithe-payers ; impair the use of the ministry ; place the ministers of Christ under the pay and influence of ungodly persons ; and proclaim to the world, that the disciples of Christ can not maintain his worship and publish his truth unless wordly men and unbelievers of every class will help them. It deserves, therefore, the most serious consideration of Christian ministers and of Christian churches, whether they should not at once abandon a system so dishonorable to the Gospel, and return to that which rests on the authority of Christ.

SECTION II.—*The Supremacy of the State.*

One consequence arising from the provision which is made by the State for Christian pastors, is that it claims and exercises the right of superintendence over the churches. This right is asserted in the following statutes, which are still in force:—

By 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, "The king, his heirs, &c., shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England and shall have power, from time to time, to visit, repress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities *which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction may be lawfully reformed,*"¹ &c.

By 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 17, it is enacted, "Your majesty is, and hath always justly been, the supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and hath full power and authority to correct, punish, and repress all manner of heresies, errors, vices, sins, abuses, idolatries, hypocrisies, and superstitions, sprung and growing within the same; *and to exercise all other manner of jurisdiction, commonly called ecclesiastical jurisdiction archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS, HAVE NO MANNER OF JURISDICTION ECCLESIASTICAL, BUT BY AND FROM YOUR ROYAL MAJESTY. . . . Forasmuch as your majesty is the only undoubted and supreme head of the Church of England, to whom, by the Holy Scriptures, all authority and power is wholly given to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct vice and sin whatsoever; and to all such persons as your majesty shall appoint thereunto may it be ordained and enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, that all and singular persons as well lay as married, being doctors of civil law who shall be appointed to the office of chancellor, vicar-general, commissary, official, scribe, or register, may lawfully execute and exercise all manner of jurisdiction commonly called ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all censures and coercions appertaining to the same.*"²

By 1 Ed. VI. cap. 12, "If any person shall, by open preaching, express words or sayings, affirm that the king is not or ought not to be the supreme head on earth of the Church of England immediately under God, he, his aiders, comforters, abettors, and counselors, shall for the first offense forfeit his goods, and be imprisoned during

¹ Burn's Eccl. Law, vol. iii. p. 657.

² Ib. vol. ii. p. 43.

the king's pleasure; for the second offense shall forfeit his goods, and the profits of his lands and spiritual promotions during his life, and also be imprisoned during his life; and for the third offense shall be guilty of high treason."¹ By 1 Mary, sess. i. cap. 1, the penalty of treason was repealed.

By 1 Eliz. cap. i. s. 17, "*All such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority have heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised and used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for the reformation, order, and correction of sin, and of all manner of heresies, schisms, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities, shall forever be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.*"²

By canon 1, the convocation in synod, A.D. 1603, ordained that, "all ecclesiastical persons shall faithfully keep and observe . . . all and singular the laws and statutes made for restoring to the Crown of this kingdom the ancient jurisdiction over the State ecclesiastical."

By canon 2, "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the king's majesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that godly kings among the Jews and Christian emperors of the primitive church, *or impeach any part of his royal supremacy*, in the said causes restored to the Crown and *by the laws of this realm therein established*, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*."

By canon 36, "No person shall hereafter be received into the ministry . . . except he shall first subscribe to these three articles following—1. That the king's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm . . . as well *in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things* as temporal," &c.

These statutes plainly declare that the Crown has all such spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction as has ever been exercised by any spiritual power and authority, whether pope, synod, prelate, or church.

2. That the Crown may therefore exercise all church

¹ Burn, vol. iii. p. 658.

² Ib. vol. ii. p. 304.

discipline for the correction of heresy, schism, and sin of every kind.

3. That bishops and pastors have no manner of spiritual jurisdiction within the churches but from the Crown.

4. That the Crown may delegate its spiritual authority to ecclesiastical lawyers, who may exercise all church discipline within the churches in its name.

And by the canons above mentioned, all ministers of the Church of England must acknowledge this supremacy of the Crown in spiritual things, must faithfully keep and observe these statutes, by which it has been declared and confirmed, *and must not impeach any part of it on pain of excommunication.*

On Thursday, Feb. 27, 1845, when Lord Fortescue presented petitions to the House of Lords for a revision of the rubric, the Bishop of Exeter said, "Our ancestors, my lords, were much too wise, much too virtuous, and much too faithful, to think of transferring a spiritual supremacy to any monarch who might govern these realms." To which Lord Brougham replied, "I differ from him (the bishop) in one point: I hold the power of Parliament to be paramount in every matter; that over every thing in the country, spiritual or temporal, the jurisdiction of Parliament extends."¹ The following extract from Hooker shows that he agreed with Lord Brougham: "If the action which we have to perform be conversant about matters of mere religion, the power of performing it is thus spiritual; and if that power be such as hath not any to overrule it, we term it dominion or power supreme, so far as the bounds thereof extend. When, therefore, Christian kings are said to have spiritual dominion, or supreme power, in ecclesiastical affairs and causes, the meaning is, that within their own precincts and territories *they have an authority and power to command even in matters of Christian religion*; and that there is no higher or greater that can in those cases over-command them when they are placed to reign as kings."² Since, then, the Crown has, according to statute, "All spiritual jurisdiction which can

¹ The Times, Feb. 28, 1845.

² "Polity," book viii.

be exercised by any spiritual power," it has, according to Hooker, all the jurisdiction in spiritual things, in "matters of mere religion," which has ever been exercised by a bishop, a synod, or a church.

But it is to be observed, that Lord Brougham claimed for Parliament what the bishop denied to the Crown, his reason being, that the spiritual power of the Crown, is derived from Parliament; and in this, too, he was correct. The 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, declares, "the king shall have power from time to time to visit," &c. The statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 1, enacts that spiritual jurisdiction "shall forever be united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm." But in thus making the sovereign head of the church, Parliament has not abdicated its own supremacy; for while the sovereign administers the ecclesiastical laws as he does the civil, Parliament has of late years allowed no other legislation for the church than its own. Various acts show how much the Crown derives its authority from Parliament. The canons of the church have no force till they have the king's assent; but this is by 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19, and not by any underived authority in the Crown.¹

Any doctors of law appointed by the Crown may exercise all manner of spiritual jurisdiction; but the Crown derives this right from the statute of 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 17.

There are various cases in which the ecclesiastical court is now forbidden to pronounce excommunication, though it recently could do so. As this innovation could not be accomplished by authority of the Crown, it was effected by 53 Geo. III. cap. 127. When the act, 59 Geo. III., was passed to assign districts to chapels-of-ease, the following expression was inserted with respect to certain commissioners appointed by the Crown: "It shall be lawful for the commissioners to assign a district," proving that without such act the royal commissioners could not have assigned it. Precisely similar language was employed in subsequent acts relating to similar matters.²

¹ Burn, vol. ii. p. 24.

² Ib. vol. i. pp. 306^c, 306^d.

The appeal which formerly lay from the court of Arches to the court of Delegates, has been transferred to the judicial committee of the privy council. This was effected not by the prerogative of the Crown, but by two statutes, 2 and 3 Will. IV. cap. 72, and 3 and 4 Will. IV. cap. 41. Which fact is the more to be observed because the transfer of the authority from the one court to the other was intended not to effect any ecclesiastical object which was before illegal, but simply to accomplish certain legal objects in a less objectionable manner. And so late as in the present reign, the bishop, with three assessors, is empowered not by the Crown, but by the church-discipline act, 3 and 4 Vict., to pronounce sentence on various ecclesiastical offenses. These acts abundantly prove, that the supremacy of the State is lodged derivatively and partially in the Crown, but is underived and plenary in the Parliament, justifying Lord Brougham's expression, that "over every thing in the country, spiritual or temporal, the jurisdiction of Parliament extends." With him, Hooker holds the legislature to be the source of the king's supremacy. "Who doubteth but that the king who receiveth it *must hold it of and under the law*, according to the axiom, *Rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo ET LEGE.*"¹ "The best-established dominion is where the law doth most rule the king; the true effect whereof is found particularly as well in ecclesiastical as civil affairs."² The king is *Major singulis, universis minor.*"³ "The axioms of our regal government are these, *Lex facit regem: Rex nihil potest nisi quod jure potest.*"⁴

The actual state, then, of the churches of Christ within the Establishment is, that the Crown can exercise a spiritual supremacy over them in all ecclesiastical cases, and that the legislature has a higher and more absolute power still over them.

Bishop Warburton's account of this union is as follows: "The church resigns up her independency, and makes the magistrate her supreme head, without whose approbation and allowance she can administer, transact, or decree no-

¹ Hooker, book viii.² Ib.³ Ib.⁴ Ib.

thing. For the State, by this alliance, having undertaken the protection of the Church, and *protection not being to be afforded to any community without power over it in the community protecting, it follows that the civil magistrate must be supreme.* Protection is a kind of guardianship; and guardianship, in its very nature, implies superiority and rule.¹ . . . No other jurisdiction is given to the civil magistrate by this supremacy than the church, as a mere political body, exercised before the convention.”²

This supremacy is admitted by Hooker to be wholly a matter of law. “As for supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs the word of God doth nowhere appoint that all kings should have it, neither that any should not have it; for which cause it seemeth to stand altogether by human right that unto Christian kings there is such dominion given.”³

But this supremacy of the State, without divine authority, is incompatible with the rights of Christ.

The Scripture declares that Christ is the king of his church,⁴ and therefore to allow the State to rule over it without his authority, is as much treasonable as it would be in Ireland or in Canada to elect a foreigner for its ruler, without reference to the will of our sovereign.

Christ is the head and master of his church, as a man is head and master of his own household.⁵ And when any churches without authority from him allow spiritual dominion over them to a stranger, they are revolting against his authority, as much as servants would be who in their master's absence should invite another to assume the direction of his house. Christ has condescended to represent the church in Scripture as his bride, and himself as the husband of the church.⁶ And because the Church of Rome has given to others the honor due to him, it is

¹ Warburton's "Alliance," book ii. c. 3.

² Ib.

³ Hooker, book viii.

⁴ Psalm xi. 6; Isaiah ix. 6, 7; Dan. vii. 14; Zech. ix. 9; John xviii. 37, 39; xix. 19; Col. i. 13; 2 Cor. x. 5, &c.

⁵ Heb. iii. 5, 6; Gal. vi. 10.

⁶ Eph. v. 22, 23, 25; 2 Cor. xi. 2; John iii. 29; Rom. vii. 4; Rev. xix. 7; xxi. 9.

termed in the word of God a harlot, and every church in communion with that corrupt church is termed a harlot too.¹ Whenever, therefore, any church allows one who is without Christ's authority to rule over it, it is acting as a wife who should allow a stranger to rule over her in her husband's absence. That church would be guilty of adultery as the Church of Rome has been. And, again, the church is termed in Scripture the body, of which Christ is the head :² and a church which therefore makes the magistrate its head, becomes a body with two heads, a deformity—a monster. And all this is what the Church of England has done. In allowing to the State this spiritual dominion over it, it has become treasonable, rebellious, adulterous, and unnatural ; it is a community with two spiritual kings, a household with two separate masters, a wife with two husbands, a body with two heads.

It is of no avail for an advocate of the union to allege that the king is only head of the church under Christ. Where is Christ's appointment ? Did our Lord appoint the profligate Charles II., or the Romanist James II., to be his vicegerent ? If not, the established churches had no more right to make either of those persons their head without the consent of Christ, than a convention of Irishmen might make the pope their supreme ruler under the Queen.

Nor is it of any avail to allege that the Establishment has taken care to reserve the rights of Christ, and allows not the State to enact any thing against his law. Were this as true as it is false, the infidelity of the Establishment would remain apparent. Even if none of the laws of Christ were violated by the enactment of the State, each minister who allows the supremacy of the State in return for State-pay acts like an ambassador, who, residing at a foreign court, accepts a pension from the foreign government, and allows it to direct all his movements provided it enjoins nothing contrary to the express instructions of his own sovereign. Such an ambassador would be ignominiously dismissed by any prince in Europe. What account

¹ Rev. xviii. 1, 2, 5.

² Col. i. 18 ; Eph. i. 23.

will the ambassadors of Christ have to give to him for consenting to be pensioners of the State?

But further; it is a mere imagination that the State can exercise spiritual jurisdiction without violating any of the laws of Christ, as a glance at its enactments may show.

The supremacy of the State determines the settlement of pastors within the Establishment, its doctrine and worship, its discipline and government; and in each of these points the union violates the law of Christ.

1. According to the law of Christ, no persons are to be pastors of churches but pious and faithful men. "*A bishop (i. e. a pastor) must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful word,*"¹ &c. Bad men are no ministers of Christ,² and hence the churches were directed to beware of all ungodly teachers, and not receive them.³

Further; according to the apostolic precedents, which have the force of laws among Christians, the churches elected their ministers. The whole congregation at Jerusalem selected the two brethren, one of whom was to be chosen by lot to fill the place of the apostate Judas.⁴ The whole congregation chose their deacons;⁵ and the appointment of pastors for the churches of Asia Minor by Paul and Barnabas is thus recorded by Luke: "*When they had elected elders for them by the show of hands in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord.*"⁶

¹ Tit. i. 7-9; 1 Tim. iii. 1-12; Acts xx. 28; Eph. iv. 11-14

² 2 Cor. xi. 5; Gal. v. 12; Matt. vii. 21, 22.

³ Matt. vii. 15; John x. 5; Gal. v. 12; 2 John 10.

⁴ Acts i.

⁵ Acts vi.

⁶ Acts xiv. 23. The words are, *χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν*, &c., the meaning of which is, that they appointed them by popular election, as appears from the following considerations:—

Χειροτονέω, q. d. *τὴν χεῖρα τείνω*. Manum protendo. Hoc autem quia fiebat in suffragiis ferendis, hinc factum est ut ponatur pro

Congregational election having thus been instituted by the apostles continued for a considerable period in the

seisco, decerno, creo. Acts xiv. 23. *Χειροτονήσαντες*, cum creas sent, seu potius per suffragia creassent.—Stephen.

“Ἐκκλησία (the congregation) was an assembly of people met together according to law to consult about the good of the commonwealth.”

“When the debates were ended, the crier asked the people whether they would consent to the decree.”

“The manner of giving their suffrages was by holding up their hands; and therefore they called it *χειροτονία*: and *χειροτονεῖν* signified to ordain or establish any thing; *ἀποχειροτονεῖν*, to disannul by suffrage.”—*Potter's Antiquities*, Ed. 1818. Vol. i. pp. 107, 113.

Χειροτονέω, *χειροτονία*, and their compounds, are frequently used in the sense of popular election by the show of hands, and rarely, if ever, in any other sense, by Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Æschines, Plutarch, and Xenophon. See the instances collected by Stephen.

Χειροτονέω, to vote by holding up the hands, intrans. In N.T. trans. to choose by vote. Acts xiv. 23.—*Robinson's Lexicon*.

The only other place where the word is used in the New Testament is 2 Cor. viii. 19, Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, &c. And not that only, but who was also chosen (by suffrage) of the churches, &c.

As the *χειροτονία* in the civil ἐκκλησία signified always election by suffrage, so it bore the same signification in the Christian ἐκκλησία.

Refert enim Lucas constitutos esse per ecclesias presbyteros a Paulo et Barnaba: sed rationem vel modum simul notat quum dicit, factum id esse suffragiis: *χειροτονήσαντες*, inquit, *πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν*.—*Calv. Inst.* lib. iv. cap. iii. sec. 15.

Χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους, &c., quum ipsi per suffragia creassent per singulas ecclesias presbyteros. Ortum est hoc verbum ex Græcorum consuetudine, qui porrectis manibus suffragia ferebant. Est autem notanda vis hujus verbi, ut Paulum ac Barnabam sciamus nihil privato arbitrio gessisse nec ullam in ecclesia exercuisse tyrannidem, nihil denique tale fecisse quale hodie Romanus Papa, et ipsius assecleæ quos ordinarios vocant.—*Beza*, ad loc.

Acts xiv. 23. Et cum suffragiis creassent illis per singulas ecclesias presbyteros, &c.

Iterum commendatur nobis ordinaria electio. . . Eligitur enim communibus populi suffragiis, qui optimorum testimonio probatus est.—*Bullinger*, ad loc.

Quoniam evangelii profectus id postulabat, ut apostoli per varias regiones vagarentur, delectos populi suffragiis per singulas civitates presbyteros præfecerunt illis, ut absentium apostolorum vices gererent *Pellican*, ad loc.

Christian churches. Mosheim, the learned Presbyterian historian, Bingham, the Episcopalian collector of eccle-

Acts xiv. 23. "Quumque ipsis per suffragia creassent," &c.—*Piscator*, ad loc.

"E dopo ch' ebbero loro per ciascuna chiesa ordinati, per voti comuni, degli anziani."—*Diodati*.

When they had by common votes ordained, viz. with the approbation and consent of the churches, to whom this right was anciently preserved, even from the apostles' time.—*Diodati*, ad loc.

Notandum quod apostoli . . . presbyteros, constituerint per *χειροτονίαν* sive suffragia fidelium. . . . Erasmus hic, "ut intelligamus suffragiis delectos." . . . Grotius, "accessisse consensum plebis credibile est ob id, quod in re minori supra habuimus."—Cap. vi. 2, 8. Ergo *χειροτονεῖν* hic dicitur de apostolis, quemadmodum apud Demost. de νομοθέταις, qui suffragiis præsidebant. Sequentibus temporibus vocabulum *χειροτονία*, cum plebs suffragari desiisset, pro episcopali creatione presbyterorum, et *χειροθεσία* usurpatum est. Sed diu etiam in Ecclesia Romana retentum est, ut episcopus certe non sine populi assensu crearetur.—*Cocceius*, ad loc.

Χειροτονεῖν apud Græcos veteres proprie et primarie significat eligere, vel per suffragia creare: tandem vero, ut multæ voces aliæ, significationem mutavit; valetque tantum creare, vel constituere, vel ordinare; quo sensu verbum hoc usurpat tum Philo . . . tum Lucianus . . . tum Maximus Tyrius.—*Poole*, ad loc.

"When they had," with the concurrent suffrage of the people, "constituted presbyters for them in every church." The old English Bible translated it, "When they had ordained them elders by election." The celebrated author just mentioned (Mr. Harrington) has endeavored largely to vindicate this interpretation from the exceptions of Dr. Hammond, Dr. Seaman, and others, who make *χειροτονία* the same with *χειροθεσία*.—*Doddridge*, ad loc.

Acts xiv. 23. "When they had ordained them elders by election in every church."—*Geneva Bible*.

"When they had ordained them elders by election in every congregation."—*Tyndale, Cranmer*.

Martin.—"So they do force this word here to induce the people's election; and yet in their churches in England the people elect not ministers, but their bishop. Whereas the Holy Scripture saith, they ordained to the people; and whatsoever force the word hath, it is here spoken of the apostles, and pertaineth not to the people."

Fulke.—"We mean not to enforce any other election than the word doth signify; neither do our bishops (if they do well) ordain any ministers or priests without the testimony of the people, or at leastwise of such as be of most credit where they are known. Where you use the pronoun *αὐτοῖς*, 'to them,' as though the people gave no consent nor testimony, it is more than ridiculous, and, beside that, contrary to the practice of the primitive church for many hun-

siastical antiquities, Dean Waddington, Paolo Sarpi, the Roman Catholic historian of the proceedings of the Coun-

dred years after the apostles. *That the word χειροτονία by the fathers of the church since the apostles, hath been drawn to other significations than it had before, it is no reason to teach us how it was used by the apostles."*

Martin.—"Concerning χειροτονία, St. Jerome telleth them in chap. lviii. Esai, that it signifieth giving of holy orders, which is done not only by prayer of the voice, but by the imposition of the hand . . . Where these great etymologists, that so strain the original nature of this word to profane stretching forth the hand in elections, may learn another ecclesiastical etymology thereof . . . to wit, putting forth the hand to give orders."

Fulke.—"The testimony of St. Jerome, whom you cite, you understand not . . . His purpose is not to tell what χειροτονία properly doth signify, but that imposition of hands is required in lawful ordination, which many did understand by the word χειροτονία, although in that place it signified no such matter. And, therefore, you must seek further authority to prove your ecclesiastical etymology, that χειροτονία signifieth putting forth of the hands to give orders. The places you quote in the margin, out of the titles of Nazianzen's Sermons, are to no purpose, although they were in the text of his homilies. For it appeareth not, although by synecdoche the whole order of making clerks were called χειροτονία, that election was excluded where there was ordination by imposition of hands. As for that you cite out of Ignatius, it proveth against you, that χειροτονεῖν differeth from imposition of hands; because it is made a distinct office from χειροθετεῖν, that signifieth to lay on hands: and so χειροτονία and ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν by your own author do differ."—*A Defense of the English Translations of the Bible against the Cavils of Gregory Martin, by William Fulke, D.D., Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.* Edition of Parker Society, pp. 245-248.

Acts xiv. 23. "Lorsque par l'avis des assemblées, ils eurent établi des prêtres ou des pasteurs dans chaque église," &c.—*Le Scur, Histoire de l'Eglise.* Geneva, 1674. P. 159.

To all this argument it is objected that the word χειροτονεῖν may mean, either, first, to ordain by imposition of hands (*Hammond* in *Dod.* ad loc.); or, secondly, to select or appoint, as the word προχειροτονέω, Acts x. 41 (*Bloomfield*, *Recensio* ad loc.): but that it can not mean "to constitute those whom others have elected." (*Campbell and Bloomfield.*)

The first of these senses is inadmissible, because the word χειροτονία never had the sense of χειροθεσία in any writer, sacred or classical, to the time of the Book of Acts; and it is no more allowable to give it this meaning, because later ecclesiastical writers so employed it, than it would be to understand the word ἐπίσκοπος to mean, in the New Testament, a prelate instead of a presbyter, or

cil of Trent, and Beza, one of the fathers of the Calvinistic churches, Neander, the Lutheran historian of our

the word *ἐκκλησία* to mean a building, or a body of clergy, or an aggregate of local churches in an entire nation, instead of a Christian assembly, because these words subsequently received these new significations. The second sense of selection by individuals the word has : but this is a rare and derived sense, not to be resorted to without necessity. It is true that the sense of causing to elect, or electing by means of others, is also rare and derived : but it is so agreeable to common usage in other words, that it might be admitted here, even if no instance of it could be found in any classical writer. Men are constantly said to do that which they direct others to do. An architect is said to build a house, because he superintends the builders ; the Lords of the Admiralty are said to launch a vessel, when it is launched under their order ; and a king is said to invade a country, when he sends his troops to invade it. Thus, Luke might write that the apostles Paul and Barnabas elected presbyters by suffrage, when they caused them to be so elected. In this causative sense the same writer has used the word *κρίνω* in the following passage : *He hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained* (Acts xvii. 31). As, therefore, God is said to judge the world, because he has appointed Christ to judge it ; so Paul and Barnabas may be said to have elected the presbyters by vote, because they appointed them to be so elected. Luke might use the word *χειροτονέω* in this sense, even if Xenophon or Demosthenes never had occasion so to employ it. But Cocceius remarks, "*χειροτονεῖν hic dicitur de apostolis, quemadmodum apud Demosthenem de νομοθέταις, qui suffragiis præsidebant.*" One of the passages to which he may allude is the following, in the oration against Timocrates : *Τὸν δὲ νόμων τῶν κειμένων μὴ ἐξεῖναι λῦσαι μηδένα, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν νομοθέταις. Τότε δὲ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλευμένῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων λύνειν, ἕτερον τιθέντι ἀντ' ὅτου ἂν λύη. Διαχειροτονίαν δὲ ποιεῖν τοὺς προέδρους περὶ τούτων τῶν νόμων· πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τοῦ κειμένου, εἰ δοκεῖ ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἢ οὐ· ἔπειτα περὶ τοῦ τιθεμένου. Ὅποτέρον δ' ἂν χειροτονήσωσιν οἱ νομοθέται, τοῦτον κύριον εἶναι* (Oratores Græci, Reiske, vol. i. p. 710). The office of the *νομοθέται* "was not to enact new laws by their own authority, for that could not be done without the approbation of the senate and the people's ratification ; but to inspect the old ; and if they found any of them useless or prejudicial, as the state of affairs then stood, or contradictory to others, *they caused them to be abrogated by an act of the people*" (Potter's *Ant.* i. 92). Agreeably to this statement of Archbishop Potter, it appears from the passage before us, that a new law proposed at Athens, after having been allowed by the *νομοθέται*, was to be brought before the *ἐκκλησία*, or assembly. The *προέδροι*, or presidents, were then *ποιεῖν διαχειροτονίαν*, to determine by the show of hands, first, whether the old law

own days, Bost, the author of "The History of the Moravian Brethren," and even Hooker,¹ with his strong anti-

should be abrogated, secondly, whether the proposed law should be enacted. And as the *νομοθέται*, or proposers of laws, originated the act of the *ἐκκλησία*, they were said *χειροτονεῖν τὸν νόμον*, to enact the law by the show of hands. Exactly in the same manner, the apostles, who held in the Christians' *ἐκκλησία* exactly the offices of the *προεδρόροι* and the *νομοθέται* in the civil *ἐκκλησία*, might be said, as presiding over the church, *ποιεῖν διαχειροτονίαν*, and as instituting the election of the presbyters *χειροτονεῖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*.

Since, then, the causative sense of *χειροτονέω* is as admissible as its sense of individual selection, there are the following reasons for preferring the former :—

It is nearer to the original and common sense of the word, which is to enact, or elect by suffrage.

As the usual sense of the word is to elect by suffrage, had Luke wished to exclude the idea of suffrage on this occasion, he would have used the word *ἐκλέγομαι*, or *καθίστημι*, or some other word not involving that idea.

The election of presbyters by the churches would not have been so generally adopted or so long maintained, without apostolic precedent, considering the early and rapid growth of clerical power and pretension.

The congregational election of presbyters is in accordance with other congregational acts appointed or allowed by the apostles.

¹ It was the assembly of the people which chose their own rulers and teachers, or received them by free and authoritative consent, when recommended by others.—*Mosheim*, cent. i. p. ii. c. ii. sect. 6.

"No bishop was to be obtruded on any orthodox people against their consent. . . . Sometimes the bishops in synod proposed a person, and the people accepted him; sometimes, again, the people and the bishops consented. . . . If they were divided, it was the metropolitan's care to unite and fix them in their choice, but not to obtrude upon them an unchosen person. This we learn from one of Leo's epistles, where he gives us, at once, both the church's rule and practice, and the reasons of it: 'In the choice of a bishop,' says he, 'let him be preferred whom the clergy and people do unanimously agree upon and require. If they be divided in their choice, then let the metropolitan give preference to him who has most votes and most merits; always provided that no one be ordained against the will and desire of the people, lest they condemn or hate their bishop, and become irreligious or disrespectful, when they can not have him whom they desired.'"—*Bingham's Antiquities*, book iv. chap. ii. sect. 4.

St. Jerome says expressly, that presbyters and the other clergy were as much chosen by the people as the bishops were. And Possidius notes this to have been both the custom of the church, and

popular predilections—all acknowledge this to be the fact. Hence congregational election became the principle of all

St. Austin's practice, in the ordinations of priests and clerks, to have regard to the majority, or general consent, of Christian people. And Servicius, who speaks the sense and practice of the Roman Church, says, that when a deacon was to be ordained either presbyter or bishop, he was first to be chosen both by the clergy and people.—*Ibid.* sect. 10.

In the earliest government of the first Christian society, that of Jerusalem, not the elders only, but the whole church, were associated with the apostles, Acts xv. 2, 4, 22, 23, &c.—*Dean Waddington, Hist. of the Church*, chap. ii. p. 20.

Of most of the apostolical churches the first bishops were appointed by the apostles: of those not apostolical, the first presidents were probably the missionaries who founded them; but on their death the choice of a successor devolved on the members of the society. In this election the people had an equal share with the presbyters and inferior clergy, without exception or distinction; and it is clear that their right in this matter was not barely testimonial, but judicial and elective.—*Ibid.* p. 23.

There were some variations in the mode of election according to times and circumstances, since no rule is laid down in Scripture on the subject; but there is a great concurrence of evidence to show that no bishop was ever obtruded on an orthodox people against their consent.—*Ibid.* Note.

Il modo dell' elegere i ministri, fù come si è detto di sopra, instituito dalli santi apostoli, che li vescovi, preti, e altri ministri della parola di Dio, e li Diaconi ministri delle cose temporali, fossero eletti de tutta l'Università de' fedeli.—*Paolo Sarpi, Trattato de la Materie Beneficiare.* Opere, vol. iii. p. 27.

Habemus ergo esse hanc, ex verbo Dei, legitimam ministri vocationem, ubi, ex populi consensu et approbatione, creantur, qui visi fuerint idonei.—*Calv. Inst.* lib. iv. chap. iv. sect. 15.

Iterum repeto quod antea dixi, nunquam receptum fuisse in Christianis ecclesiis jam constitutis, ut quis admitteretur ad functionem ecclesiasticam nisi libere et legitime electus ab ecclesia ejus intererat.

Quid igitur spectarunt apostoli quum pastores et diaconos constituerint in ecclesiis quas ædificabant? hoc nimirum, ut qui elegebantur essent, quoad ejus fieri posset *ὡνεπίληπτοι*, et invito gregi non obtruderentur.

Tum ergo ne in ædificatis quidem ecclesiis erunt omnia suffragiis multitudinis committenda, neque tamen absque totius ecclesiæ consensu deligendi fuerint pastores.—*Beza, Confessio Fidei*, cap. iv. sect. 135.

Pour ce qui est du choix des fonctionnaires ecclésiastiques, il est évident que les premiers diacres, et les délégués qui accompagnaient

the Calvinistic and Presbyterian churches. It was recognized in the Saxon, Helvetic, and Belgian confessions ; and

les apôtres avaient été choisis dans le sein des églises qui leur avoient donné leurs pouvoirs. 2 Cor. viii. 19. On pourrait conclure de plusieurs exemples, qu'on en agissait de même pour l'institution des presbyters.—*Neander, Histoire de l'Etablissement de l'Eglise*, vol. i. p. 130.

Qui est ce qui nomme les pasteurs d'une église ? Bien que la parole ne dise pas expressément que chaque église se choisisse les conducteurs, il est cependant assez naturel de le conclure de certains passages. Si, par exemple, de simples frères furent appelés à choisir deux candidats pour la charge d'apôtre, à plus forte raison peuvent ils nommer un pasteur.—*Acts i. 15–16.*

Acts xiv. 23 ; 2 Cor. viii. 19. Semblerait établir la nomination des pasteurs des églises. Quoi-qu'il en soit à cet égard, imposer comme de force à une église un pasteur, ou même un diacre, serait assurément manifester un esprit, bien différent de celui des apôtres. *Acts i. 6*, Qui requiraient l'assistance et le concours des églises dans des choses où, selon nos idées, ils auraient pu ne le point faire —*Bost, Essai sur la Nature des Eglises, &c. p. 41.*

Now when that power (of order) so received is once to have any certain subject whereon it may work, and whereunto it is to be tried, here cometh in the people's consent and not before. The power of order I may lawfully receive without asking leave of any multitude ; *but that power I can not exercise upon any one certain people utterly against their wills. Neither is there in the Church of England any man, by order of law, possessed with pastoral charge over any parish, but the people, in effect, do choose him thereunto.* For, albeit, they choose not by giving every man personally his particular voice, yet can they not say that they have their pastors violently obtruded on them, &c., &c.—*Hooker, Polity*, book vii. sect. 14.

Ministri ipsi erant delecti ut plurimum ex cœtibus ipsis, magno sane rei sacræ adjumento ecclesiarum commodo Quæ quidem singula tam aperta sunt e sacris literis, et primeva historia, ut probatione ulteriori non indigeant.—*Weismann, Historia Ecclesiastica.* Halle, 1745, p. 96.

Therefore to avoid all such unlearned and unapt persons, the custom in times past of choosing ministers is greatly to be commended, which was this. The whole parish, or the better part of them, where a pastor was wanted, assembled themselves together certain days before the election, and conferred of the appointment of a new minister. The names of certain honest, grave, godly, wise, sober, zealous, constant, and learned men, were prefixed, and set up in some notable place of the city or town, with a schedule or writing, to declare that the men, whose names were there entitled, were appointed, on such a day, to be chosen ministers of the congregation of God : again, that if any man did know any fault or

the French churches embodied it in one of their canons of discipline.¹

notable imperfection in them, concerning either their doctrine, or life, they should, on such day, be present, and object what they lawfully could. If no worthy objection at the day appointed were made, then did the election proceed. But before the election, the parish being gathered together in the name of Christ, they gave themselves to fasting and prayer; and a sermon made, concerning both the office of the pastor and the duty of the parishioners, some other minister or ministers, with certain elders of that congregation, laid their hands upon the new chosen minister, wishing unto him the Spirit of God and the fruits of the same That this was the custom in times past, divers ancient writings of the most ancient writers abundantly testify. St. Cyprian, an ancient Latin writer, saith, "The common people themselves have, before all other, power either to choose worthy priests, or to refuse the unworthy. Which thing we see to have the beginning of God's authority, that the priest, in the presence of the people, should openly, and in every man's sight, be chosen, and allowed to be worthy and meet, by the public judgment and open testimony."—*Becon's Works*. Edition of Parker Society, p. 7.

Propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis dominicis, et Deum metuens, a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Quod et ipsum videmus, ut sacerdos, plebe præsentē, sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico iudicio ac testimonio comprobetur.—*Cyprian. Op.* Oxon. 1682. Epist. 67, in note, p. 7; *Becon's Works*.

Electio ordinarie facta est ab apostolis, aut eorum delegatis (Tit. i. 5); sed præsentī, adplaudenti subinde postulante, populo ecclesiam constituyente, quippe penes quem jus electionis erat; Acts xiv. 23; Ubi verbum χειροτονεῖν denotat per suffragia, quæ protensis manibus dari solebant, eligere; uti 2 Cor. viii. 19.—*Venema, Historia Ecclesiæ*, tom. iii. p. 202.

¹ Vocentur et eligantur, electione ecclesiastica et legitima, ministri ecclesiæ; id est, eligantur religiose ab ecclesia, vel ad hoc deputatis ab ecclesia, etc.—*Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 68. *Confessio Helvetica*, sect. xviii.

Filius Dei est summus sacerdos, unctus ab æterno Patre, qui ut non funditus intereat ecclesia, ministros evangelii ei attribuit, partim a se immediate vocatos, ut prophetas et apostolos, partim vocatione humana electos. Nam et ecclesiæ electionem approbat, et immensa bonitate efficax est, etiam sonante evangelio per electos suffragiis aut nomine ecclesiæ.—*Ib.* p. 276. *Confessio Saxonica*, sect. xii.

Credimus ministros, seniores, et diaconos debere ad functiones illas suas vocari et promoveri legitima ecclesiæ electione, &c.—*Ib.* p. 347. *Confessio Belgica*, sect. xxxi.

No less than their brethren on the Continent, the Scotch reformers adopted the same principle ; and in the "First Book of Discipline," drawn up by John Knox, Spottiswood, Douglass, and others, in the year 1560, and then "subscribed by the kirk and the lords," we find these words : "It appertaineth to the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister. . . . Altogether this is

He whose election shall be declared unto the church shall preach publicly the word of God on three successive Sabbaths ; . . . the people's silence shall be taken for a full consent. But in case contention should arise, and the aforementioned elect should be pleasing to the consistory, but not unto the people, or to the major part of them, his reception shall be deferred, and the whole shall be remitted unto the Colloquy or Provincial Synod ; . . . and although the said elect should be then and there justified, yet shall he not be given as pastor unto that people against their will, nor to the discontentment of the greatest part of them.—*Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France*, chap. i. canon 6. *Quick's Synodicon*, p. xvii.

Vous voyez, en second lieu, comme les apôtres ont deféré à l'église le droit de créer ses propres officiers, comme ils l'avoient pratiqué lors qu'il fut question de subroger un apôtre à Judas ; car ils le proposèrent à l'assemblée laquelle en choisit deux, Joseph et Matthias, entre lesquels on jeta le sort, afin que Jésus Christ déclarât lui même du ciel, lequel le deux lui étoit le plus agréable, et qu'ainsi celui-là tint sa vocation immédiatement de lui, ce qui étoit une condition nécessaire à la charge d'apôtre. De celle des diacres il n'étoit pas de même, et ainsi il n'étoit pas nécessaire d'y employer le sort ; c'est pourquoi le chose fut simplement remise au choix de l'assemblée. Et ainsi s'est il observé en l'ancienne église en l'élection des pasteurs, comme nous le voyons en Saint Cyprien, et en une infinité des passages des autres anciens. Mais aux siècles suivans les évêques de Rome ont ôté ce droit au peuple Chrétien, et se le sont réservé à eux seuls ; convertissans le ministère en une domination monarchique. Pour nous nous avons ramené l'ancien ordre, et restitué à l'église de droit qui lui appartenait. Car encore qu'en l'élection d'un pasteur nous n'assemblions pas toute une église pour recueillir les suffrages de tous les fidèles qui la composent, en quoi il y auroit du désordre et divers inconvénients, néanmoins on procède à son election, dans un synode composé des pasteurs et anciens, qui sont députés de toutes les églises de la province, et qui les représentent. Là on voit les témoignages qu'il a de sa vie, et puis on l'examine sur la doctrine, et sur la dextérité qu'il a à détailler la parole de Dieu ; après quoi on le propose à l'église pour y être vu et ouï ; et si elle l'approuve et l'agrée, on le lui donne pour pasteur, avec prière et imposition des mains.—*Le Faucheur*. Sermon sur Aotes vi. 1-6.

to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in on any congregation ; but this liberty, with all care, must be reserved to every several church, to have their votes and suffrages in the election of their ministers.”¹ The “Second Book of Discipline,” which was agreed upon in the general assemblies of 1577 and of 1578, which contains the present discipline of the Scotch Establishment, has the following maxims : “ Election is the choosing out of a person, or persons, most habile (suited) to the office which vaikes (is vacant) by the judgment of the eldership and consent of the congregation to whom the person, or persons, is to be appointed. . . . In this ordinary election it is to be eschewed that no person be intruded in any of the offices of the kirk contrary to the will of the congregation to whom they are appointed. . . . The liberty of election of persons called to ecclesiastical functions and observed without interruption, so long as the kirk was not corrupted by anti-Christ, we desire to be restored and to be retained within this realm.”²

By this scriptural evidence, and this concurrence of authorities, we must conclude it to be our Lord’s will that each congregation should refuse an ungodly pastor, and, therefore, should carefully make choice of a pastor possessed of the qualifications which are required in the New Testament. But by the union the churches have transferred this whole duty to others, without any authority from Christ.

Few things can exercise a more powerful influence on the spiritual character of the Establishment than the number and the character of its bishops. But it has no right or power to determine either. The Establishment can not determine their number, the extent of their jurisdiction, or the number of churches placed under their control. Although this is a matter purely spiritual, it can be determined by Parliament alone. The 6th and 7th Will. IV. cap. 77, has created two new bishoprics, and has remodeled the state of the old dioceses, with a view to a more equal

¹ First Book of Discipline, chap. iv. sect. 1.

² Second Book of Discipline, chap. iii. sect. 4, 5 ; chap. xii. sect. 9.

distribution of episcopal duties. Parliament alone can determine how many successors of apostles there shall be, to distribute, as some suppose, spiritual gifts to the churches.

The character of the bishops is still more important to the Establishment than their numbers. The bishop has immense authority in his diocese. As no one may preach within it without his license, and he can grant or refuse his license, continue or withdraw it at his pleasure, curates are entirely under his power. Over incumbents, too, he exercises a vast influence, not only by force of law, but partly from the large patronage placed at his disposal, and partly from the wide-spread notion that his mandates ought to be obeyed in all things not positively sinful. For some centuries the diocesans were elected by the ministers and people; but in England the churches have left this important duty, which is exclusively spiritual, and which vitally affects the progress of religion in the country, to be fulfilled, for good or for evil, by the State. In Ireland the bishoprics are donative by letters patent; the patronage of the Welsh bishoprics is annexed to the Crown. In England, by 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20, the king grants a license to the dean and chapter—a very unfit body—to elect, but at the same time nominates the person to be elected; and if the dean and chapter do not proceed to elect that person within twenty days, each offender incurs a *præmunire*. The punishment by the writ of *præmunire*¹ is, “That from the conviction the defendant shall be out of the king’s protection; his lands and tenements, goods and chattels, forfeited to the king; and that his body shall remain in prison at the king’s pleasure.”² The consecration of a prelate is supposed by many to constitute him a successor of the apostles, with exclusive authority to ordain pastors for the churches, and with the power of communicating spiritual gifts. Hence, at the ordination of a presbyter, the bishop, in imitation of Christ, who, when he ordained the apostles, breathed on them, and said, “*Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted to them,*” laying his hands on the head of the candidate kneeling before

¹ Burn, vol. i pp. 202, 203. ² Encyc. Brit. art. “*Præmunire*.”

him, says, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." The persons to receive this awful authority are exclusively selected by the ministers of the crown, by prime-ministers and chancellors. Chancellors and premiers determine alone the line along which the apostolic influence is to descend from generation to generation, and the sources from which ordination-grace, and pastoral authority, are to be transmitted to the churches.

The relation between the pastor and the church is much more close than that between the prelate and his clergy; and it being of great consequence to the welfare of the church that the numbers under the care of one pastor should not be beyond his superintendence, the churches should have the unrestricted right of securing to themselves as many pastors as they may require. But the State alone determines for the Establishment the number of pastors as well as the number of bishops. Great civic parishes grow up to be each a city, the union gives the monopoly of instruction to the incumbent. Huge masses remain unvisited and untaught, but the untaught thousands have no right of choosing for themselves pastors whom they may trust. Church-building acts of Parliament alone could tardily and imperfectly untie their hands. Although the office of a pastor is purely spiritual, the inhabitants of St. George's, Westminster, Marylebone, St. Pancras, St. Luke's, Shore-ditch, and other vast populations, can not, without authority of Parliament, provide for their spiritual wants, nor multiply their pastors without leave from the State.

The State, likewise, has settled for all the churches of the Establishment who shall be their pastors. The choice of right men is of the utmost importance to their welfare. It is their sacred and inalienable duty to choose right men. The primitive church at Jerusalem chose even an apostle.¹ Ministers, too, were chosen by the whole church.² For some centuries all the Christian churches chose their own

¹ Acts i.

² Acts vi.

pastors ; to this day, in Scotland, the people must give "a call" before the pastor can be settled over them ; and nearly half the ministers of the Scotch Establishment lately separated themselves from the State, because the State would not permit them to give their churches the right of a veto in the appointment of their pastors. But the churches in England united with the State have no voice in the selection of their pastors. Although, by Christ's law, none but faithful men are to be made pastors, and the churches are forbidden to receive any others, yet they allow any man to be forced upon them whom the State pronounces to be respectable. The patron alone presents any one whom he pleases out of the fifteen thousand clergy of Great Britain, though notoriously frivolous or unevangelical, though suspected even of immorality ; and the bishop can institute no other to be the pastor. If the bishop refuses to admit the patron's presentee within twenty-eight days, he is liable to a *duplex querela* in the ecclesiastical courts, and to a *quare impedit* at common law.¹ "The patron is entitled to call upon the ordinary to institute his clerk, and to enforce that right by *quare impedit*, unless the bishop specially states in his plea some reasonable cause wherefore the clerk presented is not fit."² The only "reasonable cause" is legal proof of incapacity, heresy, or immorality. Want of spirituality, indolence, ill-temper, semi-papal attachment to ceremonies, the preaching of baptismal regeneration, the denial of the doctrine of justification by grace through faith, and an undevout life, proving an unconverted heart, are not, in the eye of the law, reasonable causes. And thus, contrary to the law of Christ, to apostolic precedent, to the practice of the first three centuries of the Christian era, and to common sense, the churches, for the sake of the State-pay, allow ungodly pastors to be forced upon them by ungodly patrons through the fiat of the State.

Thus the union has given the State power to determine the number of prelates and pastors, and likewise to select the men ; and the churches, for the sake of their endowments, have abandoned their solemn duty to admit to be

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 156.

² Ib. i. 156, cf.

their pastors none but godly men who possess the qualifications for that office pointed out in the word of God.

2. The State pronounces on the doctrine to be taught in the Establishment.

Individual Christians, and therefore churches, are called to maintain all the truth, to stand fast in the faith, to contend for the faith, and to grow in knowledge.¹ Each church ought to be "the pillar and ground of the truth."² Pastors and people together are "to hold forth the word of life;"³ and "together to strive for the faith of the Gospel."⁴ But the Establishment is forbidden by the State to correct any error, or to make any advance in spiritual knowledge: and so it becomes the pillar and ground of error as well as truth, and holds forth not only the word of life, but doctrines contrary to that word. Two or three illustrations must here suffice. The baptismal services and the catechism contain the doctrine that infants are regenerated by the rite of baptism—a dogma which, as being contrary to Scripture and to fact, the churches ought to repudiate. The twenty-sixth article declares of "evil" ministers who "have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments," "Forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and *do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry* both in hearing the word of God and in the receiving of the sacraments." This is directly contrary to Scripture, which forbids such men to be made pastors,⁵ declares that Christ knows them not,⁶ requires that they be excommunicated,⁷ and forbids Christians to listen to them.⁸ The Establishment ought to correct this error. In the service for ordering the priests, the bishop, placing his hands on the head of the kneeling candidate, is ordered by the State, through its act of uniformity, to say, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose

¹ 1 Cor. xvi. 13; Jude 3; 2 Pet. iii. 18.

³ Phil. ii. 16.

⁵ 1 Tim. iii. 1-7; Tit. i. 5-9.

⁷ Gal. v. 12.

² 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁴ Phil. i. 27.

⁶ Matt. vii. 22, 23.

⁸ Matt. vii. 15; John x. 5; 2 John 10, 11.

sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." Nearly in these words did Jesus Christ convey the Holy Spirit to his apostles;¹ which fact Bishop Wilberforce has thus noticed, "The same words are to be spoken to-day as those which broke of old the silence of that chamber where the risen Lord stood beside the amazed eleven; and when he had shown them his hands and his side, breathed on them, and said, '*Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted to them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.*' These same words are again to-day to be spoken *as in his name, and as if he were present with us.* AND ALL THIS IS THE MOST BLASPHEMOUS FRIVOLITY, if it be not the deepest truth."² This "blasphemous frivolity" ought to be removed. The thirty-sixth article declares: "The book of ordering of priests doth contain, &c. . . . Neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly." This is surely erroneous, for to make every bishop nominated by a minister of State say to all candidates for the office of presbyter, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost," is certainly superstitious; and if it be also a "blasphemous frivolity," it is ungodly too. The error of the article ought, therefore, to be corrected.

But the State will allow no correction of these and similar errors in the prayer-book. The royal declaration prefixed to the articles is as follows:—"The articles of the Church of England do contain the true doctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to God's word, which we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all our living subjects to continue in the uniform profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said articles." By the thirty-sixth canon every preacher of the Establishment must declare, "That the book of common prayer and of ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, *containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God.*" The fourth canon runs thus, "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the form

¹ John xx. 22.

² Sermon at the General Ordination, Dec. 21, 1845. Rivingtons. 1846. 2d ed. p. 24.

of God's worship . . . contained in the book of common prayer . . . containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*." The fifth canon adds, "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that any of the nine-and-thirty articles . . . are in any part . . . erroneous . . . let him be excommunicated." These canons, though not binding on the laity, have the force of law to the clergy; and thus the State compels all the clergy to pronounce those and other errors to be truths. And by 13 Elizabeth, cap. 12, s. 2, "If any person ecclesiastical, or which shall have ecclesiastical living, shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine directly contrary or repugnant to any of the said articles, and being convened before the bishop of the diocese or ordinary, shall persist therein and not revoke his error, &c. . . . he shall be deprived of his ecclesiastical promotions."¹ Thus the State has effectually prevented clergymen from attempting the correction of any errors in the doctrines of the Establishment; and to perpetuate these errors, no assembly of the Establishment is permitted to meet, which could revise the articles, correct the liturgy, or attempt any fuller profession of evangelical doctrine.

3. The supremacy of the State comes into collision with the authority of Christ respecting the worship of God.

By the law of Christ, Christians are to avoid those who cause divisions, Rom. xvi. 17, and therefore ought not to listen to any bigoted preacher who excludes pious dissenters from the church of Christ, falsely terming them schismatics, however peaceable they may be. By the same law all ministers who do not preach the Gospel, but preach the doctrine of justification by faith and works, ought to be excluded from the church, Gal. i. 8; v. 12. And, therefore, if through neglect of discipline they remain still in the exercise of their ministry, Christians must, according to these directions, avoid them as though they were excluded. By the same law Christians are carefully to abstain from affording any sanction to ministers unsound in doctrine, 2 John 10, 11. But in opposition to these laws of Christ,

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 105.

the State has passed the following laws which are still in force. By 1 Eliz. cap. 2, parishioners are to attend the parish church every Sunday and holyday, the penalty for neglect being twelve-pence, for which the church-wardens are to distrain. "No person can be duly discharged from attending his own parish church or warranted in resorting to another, unless he be first duly licensed by his ordinary, who is the proper judge of the reasonableness of his request."¹ By 3 James, cap. 4, persons not attending common prayer according to 1 Elizabeth, cap. 2, shall be distrained for twelve-pence; and in default of distress be committed to prison till payment is made. By 23 Elizabeth, cap. 1, "Every person above the age of sixteen years, which shall not repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, shall forfeit to the queen £20 a month;" and by 31 Geo. III. cap. 32, "All the laws made and provided for frequenting of divine service on the Lord's day . . . shall be still in force, and executed against all persons who shall offend against the said laws."²

It is the will of Christ that Christians should meet in every suitable place for prayer. "I will, therefore," says St. Paul, "that men pray every where."³ It was by social prayer that the hundred and twenty disciples of Christ in an upper chamber at Jerusalem prepared for the promised gift of the Holy Spirit.⁴ By social prayer they fortified themselves against the threats of their persecutors.⁵ By social prayer they sought the liberation of the apostle Peter from prison.⁶ At Philippi, Paul united with devout Jews in prayer at the river's side.⁷ At Miletus, he prayed with the pastors of Ephesus;⁸ and at Tyre consecrated the sea-shore to the same sacred exercise.⁹ Yet in the face of all these instances of social prayer, the State has enacted, by 52 Geo. III. cap. 155, "No congregation, or assembly for religious worship, of Protestants, at which there shall be present more than twenty persons, besides the immediate family and servants of the person in whose house, or upon

¹ Burn, iii. 405.² Ib. p. 406-408.³ 1 Tim. ii. 8.⁴ Acts i. 14.⁵ Acts iv. 23, 24.⁶ Acts xiii. 12.⁷ Acts xvi. 13-16.⁸ Acts xx. 36.⁹ Acts xxi. 5.

whose premises, such meeting, assembly, or congregation, should be held, shall be permitted or allowed, unless the place of such meeting shall have been duly certified to the bishop of the diocese, the archdeacon, or the justices of the peace.”¹ The last provision of this statute being limited to dissenters,² the state still prohibits members of the Establishment from meeting for prayer in any greater number than twenty, besides the family. Since dissenters may now freely meet in any numbers, this restriction upon social prayer is only retained upon ecclesiastical grounds, on which grounds alone it was advocated by the Bishop of Exeter and by Lord Brougham when it was last brought before the House of Lords, the bishop contending that such meetings for worship were contrary to the spirit of the 23d article, and Lord Brougham urging that they would prevent parishioners from attending at the parish churches.

4. The State governs the churches and regulates their discipline.

Church discipline consists chiefly in regulating the admission of persons to baptism and the Lord's Supper, and in inflicting the censures of the church on its offending members. Our Lord has signified his will on these points, and has directed how his will is to be executed. The power of government is placed by the authority of Christ in the congregation itself, and can be devolved on no one else. The presbyters of each church have by his authority the general superintendence. They are therefore called ἐπισκόποι, bishops or superintendents,³ and ποιμένες, pastors or shepherds,⁴ and they are exhorted ποιμαίνειν, to feed the church of God, as a shepherd does his flock;⁵ and St. Peter urged them to the same duty thus: “The elders which are among you I exhort . . . Feed the flock of God which is among you, ἐπισκοποῦντες, taking the oversight.”⁶ And their pastoral office is termed ἐπισκοπή, the episcopate, the superintendence.⁷ They are further called

¹ Burn, vol. ii. p. 220.

² Ib.

³ Acts xx. 28; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 5-7.

⁴ Eph. iv. 11; 1 Pet. v. 4.

⁵ Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 2.

⁶ 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.

⁷ 1 Tim. iii. 1.

rulers, *πρεσβύτεροι προεστῶτες* : and St. Paul says to the churches respecting them, "*Obeys them that have the rule over you, τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, and submit yourselves.*"¹ But while presbyters are thus called to superintend their churches, the church itself, comprising both ministers and congregation, has the ultimate supreme power of government over itself. Thus all the church united, as we have seen, with the eleven apostles to select the two brethren, of which one was to be chosen by lot to fill the place of the apostate apostle Judas ; the same church chose their deacons ; and the churches of Asia Minor, guided by Paul and Barnabas, elected their pastors. Other churches elected their messengers, called *ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν*, who accompanied St. Paul to convey their contributions to Jerusalem.² When a great doctrinal dispute arose at Antioch, the congregation at Jerusalem united with the apostles and elders to settle it.³ If a dispute arose between two Christians, they were to refer it to the congregation.⁴ The church at Rome was directed to avoid schismatics ;⁵ the congregation at Corinth was urged to excommunicate an offending member ;⁶ and the congregation at Thessalonica was to withdraw from every one who disregarded the precepts given to them by Christ's apostle.⁷

The churches being thus appointed by Christ to exercise self-government, which is essential to their fidelity, purity, and vigor, have received also divine instructions respecting the discipline which they are to exercise. Here let us notice only two main points, the admission and the exclusion of members. Respecting the first, they are instructed by our Lord and his apostles to admit no one into church-fellowship by baptism except upon a credible profession of repentance and faith, as we learn from the following passages of the word of God : "*Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. HE THAT BELIEVETH AND IS BAPTIZED shall be saved.*"⁸ . . . REPENT, AND BE BAPTIZED,

¹ Heb. xiii. 17.

³ Acts xv. 12-29.

⁶ Rom. xvi. 17.

⁷ 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.

² 2 Cor. viii. 19, 23.

⁴ Matt. xviii. 17 ; 1 Cor. vi. 4.

⁵ 1 Cor. v. 11, 13.

⁸ Mark xvi. 15, 16.

*every one of you, for the remission of sins.*¹ . . . *And the eunuch said, See, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized? And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest.*"² Baptism is, therefore, said to be *συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν*, *the inquiry of a good conscience after God*, the seeking after God with earnest sincerity.³ The practice of the early churches agreed with these statements. "*When they (the inhabitants of Samaria) believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized.*"⁴

It was when Paul had said, "Lord, what wilt thou have me do?" had continued in prayer during three days, and had received the Holy Spirit, that he was baptized.⁵ Cornelius and his friends first received the Holy Spirit, and were then baptized.⁶ Lydia at Philippi was not baptized till she had first had her heart opened by the Lord to attend to the Gospel.⁷ The jailer at Philippi and all his household were likewise baptized upon their believing.⁸ And the commencement of the church at Corinth is thus recorded: "*Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house: and many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized.*"⁹

It is, therefore, the will of Christ that none but believers shall be baptized, that the churches may be associations of "saints and faithful brethren." And if any infants are to be baptized, they must be the infants of saints and faithful brethren, who heartily dedicate them to God through Christ, and will train them up for him.

But as some ungodly persons, like Simon of Samaria, will necessarily intrude themselves into fellowship with the churches through a profession of faith without conversion of heart,¹⁰ our Lord has further directed the churches to exclude from their fellowship all open offenders against the

¹ Acts ii. 38.² Acts viii. 36, 37.³ 1 Pet. iii. 21.⁴ Acts viii. 12.⁵ Acts ix. 6, 11, 17, 18.⁶ Acts x. 44-48.⁷ Acts xvi. 14, 15.⁸ Acts xvi. 31-34.⁹ Acts xviii. 8.¹⁰ Acts viii. 13-23.

law of God. The following are some of the directions which we have received upon this subject :—

“Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord.¹ . . . I would they were even cut off which trouble you.”²

It is, therefore, the will of Christ that the churches should not allow unbelievers to come to his table.

“I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat. Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person.³ . . . I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. So hast thou, also, them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate.”⁴ It is the will of Christ that all immoral persons should be refused admission to the table of the Lord, and be put out of communion with the church.

“Now, I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.⁵ . . . A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition reject.”⁶ It is the will of Christ that quarrelsome and factious persons be excluded from the Lord’s table.

“If thy brother trespass against thee, go, &c., . . . but if he shall neglect to hear the church, let him be to thee as

¹ 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.

² Gal. v. 12.

³ 1 Cor. v. 11, 13.

⁴ Rev. ii. 14, 15.

⁵ Rom. xvi. 17.

⁶ Tit. iii. 10. Αἰρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . παραιτοῦ. “Αἰρετικός, one who creates dissensions, introduces errors, &c., a factious person.”—ROBINSON’S *Lex. of the N. T.* “Sectarius, qui præcepta et mores sequitur a præceptis institutisque Christi alienissimos.”—SCHLEUSNER.

*a heathen man and a publican.*¹. . . Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which ye received of us. And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed."² It is the will of Christ that all persons who offend in any way against his law, and do not repent of it, should be excluded from fellowship with the church, and therefore from the Lord's table.

On the other hand, it is equally the will of Christ that all the Christians of any place should have fellowship with each other as brethren; and as he has invited all believers to his table (1 Cor. xi. 23, 25), no church has a right to exclude any of his invited guests. Whatever their doctrinal or practical differences, all real believers, received by Christ, are bound to receive each another. "*One is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren.*"³. . . *Him that is weak in the faith receive ye.*"⁴. . . *Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us, to the glory of God.*"⁵

Christian churches can not, therefore, abandon this duty of self-government, nor allow any dictation from others respecting the admission or exclusion of members, without palpable disregard to the will of Christ. But the Anglican churches have done both these things. First, how does any congregation of the Establishment govern itself? The church has no voice whatever in the admission or exclusion of members; it holds no meetings for brotherly communion, for consultation respecting its spiritual improvement, for consideration of the means by which it may advance the cause of Christ. It is merged in the Establishment. Then the Establishment itself is without self-government. It has no representative assembly, for the Convocation is a synod of dignitaries and proctors which would be a mockery of representation; and even that mockery has not sat to transact business since the year 1717.⁶ Besides, were

¹ Matt. xviii. 15-17.² 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.³ Matt. xxiii. 8.⁴ Rom. xiv. 1.⁵ Rom. xv. 7.⁶ Burn, ii. 30.

the Convocation to sit, no canon can be enacted without permission of the Crown.¹ Nor can the assent of the Crown make any canon binding on the Anglican churches without it be ratified by act of Parliament;² so that the Establishment is reduced by the union to complete inactivity. It can make for itself no law, rectify no abuse, correct no error, seek no improvement; the State is watching it as a tiger an antelope, and allows not the slightest movement. All things else are in progress, but the laws and the constitution of the Establishment remain century after century unrevised and unchangeable. Each church, according to the will of Christ, should continually, by its self-government, adapt itself to the highest degree of civilization; but the State forbids, and the churches prefer the mandate of the State to the command of Christ.

The churches having criminally disregarded their duty of self-government, are no longer able to fulfill the will of Christ with reference to the admission of members. A church ought to be an association of saints and faithful brethren, and all admitted into the association ought to afford, by their conduct and profession, reason to hope that they are so too. None, therefore, are to be baptized but those who profess to repent and believe in Christ. Such is Christ's order, but the church has received another order, by canon 68, which is as follows: "No minister shall refuse or delay to christen any child . . . that is brought to the church to him upon Sundays or holydays to be christened; . . . and if he shall refuse to christen, . . . he shall be suspended by the bishop of the diocese from his ministry by the space of three months." This canon, passed by a synod of dignitaries and proctors, would not bind the pastors of churches unless it had been confirmed by the Crown; but the assent of the Crown has made it law, and it has thus changed the church from an assembly of "saints and faithful brethren" into a congeries of the whole population of each district. Swarming myriads from Marylebone, St. Pancras, Shoreditch, and St. Luke's, bring their myriads of children to be christened without tho

¹ Burn, vol. ii. p. 24.

² *Ib.* p. 27.

remotest idea of dedicating them to God or of training them for God. These become members of the church, till the church becomes not merely the world, but comprises the most disreputable part of the world ; its members living without worship, without the Bible, without pastoral superintendence, without any appearance of religion, and, perhaps, without common morality. And the churches of Christ and his ministers are the State's agents in thus violating Christ's commands.

According to Christ's law, all such members ought to be expelled by the church, while all his disciples should be freely admitted to communion. But the churches have received different orders from the convocation and the crown ; whereas all believers ought to be admitted to the Lord's table, the court of Arches, acting by authority of the crown, will sustain any minister who excludes from the Lord's table any person, however sound in faith and holy in life, however pious and devoted, who refuses to be confirmed,¹ or belongs to another parish,² or is a dissenter,³ or scruples to kneel at the Lord's table,⁴ or who speaks against the king's authority in ecclesiastical causes.⁵ But, on the other hand, the parishioners generally have a right to attend at the table, however worldly and frivolous their lives may be. By 1 Ed. VI. cap. 1, "The minister shall not, without lawful cause, deny the same (the Lord's Supper) to any person that will devoutly and humbly desire it." To be "an open and notorious evil liver," and to be "living in malice and hatred," are lawful causes, *provided that they are capable of legal proof* ; but the court of Arches, acting by authority of the crown, will punish any minister who, with the concurrence of the whole church, of which he is the pastor, should refuse the communion to any unconverted and ungodly person whom he could not legally prove to be an open and notorious evil liver, or to be living in malice and hatred. An instance of the effect of this state of the law occurred not many years since at ——. A benevolent and moral man, of Unitarian opin-

¹ Rubric to the Order of Confirmation.

³ Can. 27.

⁴ Ib.

² Can. 28.

⁵ Ib.

ions, having contributed five pounds a year to the Bible Society, and attended the committee of the association, the clergyman declared that he could not support the Bible Society, because he could have no fellowship with Unitarians. The next Sunday after that this statement had been made, the Unitarian presented himself at the altar of the parish-church; and the same clergyman administered the Lord's supper to him with the other communicants. The Unitarian devoutly and humbly desired it, as directed by the act; and had the clergyman refused to administer, the court of Arches must have decided according to the act, unless the heresy could be legally proved. Thus the law of Christ is set aside by the law of the State. Many are kept away from the Lord's table whom the Lord of the table invites to be his guests; and many are admitted there who, according to his declared will, should be excluded.

The law of Christ determines by the following directions who shall be excluded from the church.

"I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such a one no not to eat. . . . Therefore, put away from among yourselves that wicked person.¹ We command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.² . . . Mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.³ . . . A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition reject.⁴ . . . If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or

¹ 1 Cor. v. 11, 13.

³ Rom. xvi. 17.

² 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.

⁴ Tit. iii. 10.

*two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church : but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."*¹

Few persons become the subjects of church-censures for these causes, because each local church has devolved its duty upon an ecclesiastical court, over which a stranger to the case presides by authority, not of the congregation, but of the Crown, who must have legal evidence, and must judge according to legal precedents.

But the law of Christ is especially set aside when these offenses are committed by those who hold the situation of pastors. All the rules above-mentioned for the exclusion of offending members from the church direct equally the exclusion of offending ministers. And there are other special directions concerning these. Immoral ministers are altogether disowned by Christ.² They are weeds sown in his field by his enemy ;³ they are children of the wicked one ;⁴ they are strangers, whom the sheep of Christ must not follow.⁵ And those ministers who teach false doctrine instead of the Gospel are ministers of Satan.⁶ They are in danger of the curse of God ;⁷ they ought to be cut off from the church ;⁸ and no Christian must bid them God speed.⁹

Yet an immoral minister, or one who perverts the Gospel, can not be put away by the congregation whom he is leading to destruction. They have abdicated their rights for the sake of the State's bribe ; and now the State's functionary alone, who presides in the court of Arches, can determine what penalty shall be paid by the clergyman so offending. A pastor may be unacquainted with the way of salvation ; he may deny the total ruin of man, salvation by grace through faith, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit through the instrumentality of the word of God ; he may adjust his standard of practice, not to the law of Christ, but to the maxims of the world ; but of all

¹ Matt. xviii. 15-17.² Matt. vii. 23.³ Matt. xiii. 25.⁴ Matt. xiii. 38.⁵ John x. 5.⁶ 2 Cor. xi. 13-15.⁷ Gal. i. 8.⁸ Gal. v. 12.⁹ 2 John 10.

this the State functionary can take no cognizance. And how far he is likely, as a substitute for the church, to enforce the law of Christ for the exclusion of a minister whose offenses he can legally investigate, we may learn by such instances as the following. In the case of *B. v. Rev. H. C.*, vicar of C., St. M., the judge said, "There was enough substantially to show him that though Mr. C. had many good points, yet he had been neglectful of setting that example which he ought to have presented to his parishioners. Here was a parish containing about twelve thousand inhabitants. . . . He was afraid he must come to the conclusion that Mr. C. had been in the habit of frequenting public-houses, of drinking on some occasions to excess, of sitting there smoking his pipe, and drinking half-and-half; that he was guilty of dropping out an oath, and on some occasions of using obscene expressions. . . . Recollecting that he had already been suspended during the pendency of this suit, a period of eighteen months, he was of opinion that if the court pronounced a further suspension of eighteen months, it would be such a censure as the case required."¹ What idea has the judge of the pastoral office? What consideration has the church at C. for their spiritual welfare to submit to such a sentence? What regard did either the one or the other manifest to the law of Christ? By Christ's law Mr. C. ought to be utterly excommunicated and put out of the ministry; but by the law of the Establishment he is to continue the pastor of that church at C., and they are to be esteemed schismatics if they do not adhere to his ministry. More flagrant cases have within the last few years been dealt with still more leniently.

5. Ere our Lord left the world, he said to his disciples, "*Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;*"² and added, "*Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.*"³ He himself preached the Gospel on the mountain-side,⁴ on the shore of the lake,⁵ and through all the villages and towns of Galilee.⁶ After

¹ The Record, Monday, Feb. 16, 1846.

² Mark xvi. 16.

³ Matt. xxviii. 20.

⁴ Matt. v. 1.

⁵ Matt. xiii. 1-3.

⁶ Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35; xi. 1.

his death his disciples preached every where ;¹ and every zealous preacher who went forth to the heathen was to be helped in his work.²

But the State has, in various ways, hindered the pastors of the Establishment from obeying these precepts.

It has several times suspended the preaching of the Gospel altogether within the Establishment till further order from the Crown, and the Crown has the same prerogative now.

Although numbers of unconverted and irreligious men are, it is to be feared, ordained within the Establishment, the law gives to each of these the exclusive right to preach in his parish. So that within many parishes ungodly incumbents can not fulfill the law of Christ by preaching the Gospel to the people, and the State prohibits any godly ministers within the Establishment from fulfilling it.

However extensive a parish may be, and however negligent the legal pastor may be, no chapel-of-ease may be erected within the parish by the people without consent of the diocesan, patron, and incumbent, except in some cases specified by recent church-building acts.

However negligent, or even vicious, a pastor may be, no preacher of the Establishment may preach in any church or chapel within the limits of the parish, without his consent.

Whatever ignorance or irreligion may prevail in a diocese, no minister without a benefice in the diocese, however exemplary, wise, and holy he may be, has any right to officiate within it in any way whatever without the license of the bishop. So that when the State places an ungodly bishop over any diocese, it enables him, to a great extent, to exclude the Gospel from the churches within his territory.

Any clergyman may be by law suspended for preaching in any place which is not licensed by the bishop, although there may be thousands of persons in his immediate neighborhood who never hear the Gospel preached, and who will not come to the parish church.

If this supremacy of the State is in itself a dishonor

¹ Acts viii. 1-4 ; xi. 19.

² 3 John 6-8.

done to Christ, and if it practically sets aside many of his commands, how can those who wish to honor him perpetuate it by upholding the union between the State and the Church? To allow any association of men not authorized by him, and still more, to allow an association, which can not, from its constitution, but be composed of worldly men, to direct the administration of the churches of Christ in spiritual things, manifests in the churches which consent to it, a disregard to the authority and to the honor of Jesus Christ, on the criminality of which it is painful to reflect. In that guilt, too, every member of the Establishment who does not openly protest against the union must be involved. Recall the principles of the supremacy which have just been stated, and then consider what is the character of the usurpation on the part of the State, and of the subserviency on the part of each of the churches.

The State being necessarily composed of a majority of worldly men, maintains its superintendence over the churches, not for the sake of the Gospel which they do not receive, but for the purposes of government, which they can appreciate: "When these men thrust themselves in to regulate religious affairs, they are more or less culpable, according as the consciences of their subjects have or have not spontaneously placed themselves under the yoke; but they are culpable, because every application of sacred things to secular uses participates in the character of sacrilege. In the same manner, those who ally themselves with the State are more or less culpable, according as they have invited or only accepted this alliance with the governing power. But they are culpable; and for the crime which they commit as churches, there is no other name than that of adultery. *Thus sacrilege and adultery are the two characters of the union*, according as one thinks of the State, which has seized a treasure intrusted to the church, which ought to have been inviolable, or of the church which has surrendered it. . . . The church, which is the soul of the human race, has God for her husband. To him she has sworn an entire fidelity. She has sworn to obey none but him, and to recognize in him alone the inalienable rights

of a husband. But the union which she contracts, as a spiritual society, with a society which has in it nothing spiritual, transferring to that secular society the authority which belongs to God alone, reduces her to a state of flagrant and permanent adultery.”¹

SECTION III.—*Of Patronage.*

Closely connected with the supremacy of the State is the right of patronage, which is another consequence of the legal maintenance of the Anglican pastors. It has been settled that the owners of estates charged with the payment of the salaries of pastors shall have the nomination. The parochial churches of Christ, within the Establishment, being about 11,000, the pastors of 952 are chosen by the Crown; 1248 are chosen by bishops and archbishops; 787, by deans and chapters; 1851, by other dignitaries; 721, by colleges; and 5996, by private patrons.² When a patron presents a minister to a bishop to be settled as the pastor of a church, the church has no voice in the transaction. The bishop is almost as powerless; for, unless he can prove the nominee to be legally disqualified, he must admit him to the pastoral charge. That the nominee is offensive to the people, infirm, indolent, with little talent, slender theological attainments, and few virtues; that he is ill-tempered or eccentric; that he hunts and shoots, attends at balls, and plays cards, are no legal disqualifications. Unless the bishop can prove him to be heretical or immoral, he must admit him to be the pastor, or the patron would obtain damages against the bishop in an action of *quare impedit* in the temporal court; and the rejected nominee would obtain a judgment against him in the ecclesiastical court by a suit of *duplex querela*. If in this latter case the bishop do not prove his charge, or if the cause of his refusal to institute be insufficient in law, the archbishop decrees that the nominee shall be instituted, and the

¹ Vinet, “Essai sur la Manifestation des Convictions Réligieuses,” pp. 231, 232.

² M'Culloch's “Statistics,” vol. ii. p. 406.

bishop is condemned in the expenses.¹ By this state of the law, whenever the patron chooses an unfit and obnoxious person out of fifteen thousand ecclesiastics, of whom many are ungodly, to be the pastor of any church, neither the bishop nor the church can oppose any direct hindrance. If he be not legally disqualified he must be admitted.

Few things can be more important to a church than the choice of its pastor. A wise, holy, zealous, and affectionate minister may be the instrument of conversion to many souls, and promote the spiritual welfare of all the members of the church. Under his pastoral care personal and family religion, education, attention to the wants of the poor, and missionary zeal, may all flourish. Parents may see their children growing up in the fear of God, families may be united and happy, a congregation may be devout and holy, and the piety of a whole neighborhood may be advanced. An ungodly minister may, on the other hand, alienate the most pious members of the church from his ministry, empty both the school and the temple, expose religion to the contempt of the scorner, bring down a spiritual blight upon the place, and leave the church, after half a century of misdeeds, as lukewarm as the church of Laodicea, and as dead as the church of Sardis.

Yet in this important transaction a church within the Establishment has no voice. The patron, the nominee, and the bishop, may be all wordly men, who care nothing for their spiritual welfare; but the nominee, backed by his patron, and aided by the bishop, may despise the reluctance of the church, and assume, against their will, the direction of their worship, the government of their schools, and the whole pastoral superintendence of their parish. It is true, that assuming to guide them to heaven he does not know the way thither himself; but they must place themselves under his guidance, because they wish to avoid paying his salary: Men do not act thus in matters of far less moment. The same persons who quietly allow strangers to nominate their pastor would resent a similar dictation respecting any other functionary. They would allow no stranger to nom-

¹ Burn, vol. i. pp. 157, 159, 161.

inate the tutor to instruct their children, the physician to attend their families, the lawyer to transact their business, or the member to represent them in Parliament. And yet the qualifications of their pastor exercise a more powerful influence upon them for good or evil than any one of these professional or public men.

To transfer an unrestricted right of choosing their pastor to any patron, however wise and pious, would be culpable rashness; but the patrons to whom the Anglican churches commit this right are peculiarly unfitted to exercise it. The right is obtained not by their personal excellence, nor by an election to it, but from the accident that they hold the estate which pays the salary, or have purchased the right from those who hold it. Thus persons of all degrees of imbecility, ignorance, irreligion, and immorality, may choose pastors for the Anglican churches out of a body of fifteen thousand ecclesiastics, among whom there are numbers of irreligious and unconverted men. And since these patrons are generally rich, and "*it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God,*"¹ they are, as a class, more likely to be irreligious than others are, and thus far less capable of estimating rightly the qualifications of a good pastor. It makes the matter worse, that this right is often separated from the possession of the estate which originally conveyed it, so that the patron may be a stranger to the people, and totally regardless of their welfare. To such hands have the eleven thousand parochial churches of the Establishment consented, for the sake of the salaries, to transfer the right of choosing their pastors.

By the law of Christ, Christians are to try the ministers who preach to them, must not listen to those who do not preach the Gospel, must not receive unsound teachers into their houses, and must separate from evil-doers whether ministers or members.² But the Anglican churches, on the condition that they do not furnish the salaries, have

¹ Matt. xix. 24.

² Matt. vii. 15-20; John x. 5; 2 John 9-11; Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. v. 11, 13; 2 Cor. vi. 14-18, &c.

committed to men who are generally, it is to be feared, destitute of spiritual religion, the absolute right of selecting their pastors, without reserving to themselves the right of examination or remonstrance.

This custom of the churches within the Establishment is the less excusable, because it contradicts the practice of the churches which were under the immediate direction of the apostles. The church at Jerusalem chose its own deacons; the churches planted by the apostle Paul, nominated their presbyters by election; and when the vacancy in the number of the apostles, occasioned by the apostasy of Judas, was to be filled up, it was the church which nominated the two disciples, one of whom was to become an apostle.¹ To disregard these precedents is to despise the authority of Christ, by which the apostles acted; for, unless special circumstances can be pleaded to show that any apostolic practice was meant to be ephemeral, each such practice must describe a permanent authoritative institution, which is to be respected and maintained by every disciple of Christ.

When, therefore, any Anglican congregation submits to the intrusive appointment of a pastor by a patron, it consents to disregard a regulation framed by the apostles, upon Christ's authority, for the universal church. What right has the patron to nominate the pastor? His estate qualifies him to furnish the salary, but as it gives him neither talent nor piety, nor even good morals, it does not qualify him to choose the pastor, nor can it convey the right to do so. If it be replied that the State has enacted this arrangement, we must ask, Who gave the State authority thus to interfere with the prescribed duties of the church? The State has no such right; and if it has usurped the right of the church by means of the salary, the church is bound to relinquish the salary and to recover the right. It is bound to recover its independence, however excellent the intrusive pastor might be; but the mischief becomes still more intense when the pastor to be forced upon them is ungodly.

¹ Acts vi. 1-5; xiv. 23; i. 12-26.

The mischief which is done to a church by the appointment of an ungodly minister demonstrates the magnitude of the injury which the whole Establishment must suffer from this cause. If it be as intolerable an evil to an evangelical church to have an ungodly pastor as for a flock to have a wolf for its shepherd, a crew when tossed by the tempest to have a drunkard for their captain, or for an army in an enemy's country to have a traitor for their general, it must be intolerable to the Establishment to have many of its churches misled by many such pastors. *But as long as the system of patronage lasts, this evil must continue.* The rich patrons of this country are not generally evangelical and godly, and therefore do not nominate evangelical and godly pastors; and ungodly pastors can never form and build up evangelical and godly churches. *Thus this single evil of patronage secures that the churches of the Establishment shall continue, as they have ever been, to a great extent ignorant and irreligious. Irreligious patrons are a corrupt foundation for the Establishment, which no improvements in the detail of its administration can ever rectify; and patronage must ever be a source of mischief, so prolific that the churches of the Establishment, without such miracles of grace as this disregard of the authority of Christ forbids us to expect, must still remain ignorant and irreligious.*

A veto law, such as was adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, would mitigate the evil, because a church once enlightened and evangelical would never afterward receive as its pastor an ungodly nominee of the patron; and thus evangelical churches would be multiplied. Here let me describe the working of that veto law in Scotland, which was beneficial in the highest degree:—

“The veto was proposed by Dr. Chalmers, and lost by a majority of two, in 1833; and in 1834, on the motion of Lord Moncrieff, it was carried by a majority of forty-six.

“The use of the right, thus recovered by the communicants of the Church of Scotland, has been so moderate, that although there have been three hundred presentations since

the passing of the Act, there have been only about twelve instances of the veto ; and not a single instance of a second veto in any one vacancy.

“ On the other hand, its influence, which has been felt through the whole Scottish people, speedily justified the wisdom of those who enacted it. Parents could no longer destine a son to the ministry without regard to his religious character or mental powers ; and patrons could no longer determine who should be the pastor of a parish by mere caprice, nor settle a young man in an important spiritual relation to repay the secular services rendered by his parents, to serve a dependent or to gratify a friend : but parents and patron were now obliged to consider whether the talents and virtues of the young man would secure the assent of the parishioners.

“ The effect of the veto upon the presbyteries was equally good. Prior to this act, the chief check upon absolute patronage lay in their examinations ; but many of the presbyters had themselves been thrust upon reluctant parishes ; many depended upon patrons for preferment ; there was a right of appeal from their judgment to higher church courts, which were then under the dominant influence of moderatism ; and should they be supposed to act beyond their competency, the civil courts were ready to interpose. These, or some other reasons yet more powerful, had so paralyzed them, that, although many incompetent and unworthy men were presented, it has been asserted that there is no instance within the memory of man in which a presentee has been rejected by a presbytery on the ground of moral disqualification till the passing of the veto. Presbyteries themselves deteriorated under absolute patronage ; the dread of the condemnation of public opinion was not sufficient to prevent the passing of individuals, whose want of the most ordinary qualifications was a scandal to the church ; and the trial of a presentee, no less than the call of the people, ‘ was too often a total mockery.’ But since the veto act, presbyteries having been led to consider more carefully the good of the people, their examinations have become in consequence more strict ; and in two cases a probationer, nom-

inated by the patron, and *accepted by the people*, has been rejected by the presbytery on the ground of disqualification.

“ If these two checks exercised a happy influence upon the patrons in the choice of a minister, they acted still more powerfully on the theological students themselves. Under the reign of an almost unrestricted patronage, any youth who had not talent enough for the bar, and was without sufficient industry for trade, might be sure, if his parents could only obtain the favor of a patron, that he would get into a comfortable manse. But after the enactment of the veto, every theological student knew that, in the absence of considerable ability, learning, and seriousness, to say the least, he would be vetoed by the people or rejected by the presbytery, even if he could obtain a nomination from the patron. Access to the ministry being thus denied to the irreligious and the indolent, men of ability, learning, and virtue, now saw their way open to posts of usefulness. Whether they were of opulent families without ecclesiastical patronage, or of the humblest rank still further off from the smiles of the great, they had no longer the mortification of seeing the ill-qualified dependents of patrons, without any kind of excellence, by an unworthy favoritism placed over their heads. Hence, while there were as many probationers from the higher classes as before the veto, the students of every class were decidedly more instructed and more talented than before. Nor did the increased severity of discipline leave the church without pastors. It scared away the worthless, but it attracted the men of worth. In 1838, *i. e.* four years after the operation of the veto, the number of probationers was five hundred, and in 1839 it was about seven hundred, while the whole number of vacancies occurring in the church, including unendowed churches and colonial appointments, was about fifty. So that, in that latter year, the number of probationers was equal to the supply of the church with ministers for fourteen years; and at the same time, the additional annual supply of probationers was double the annual number of vacancies.

“ When, further, the accepted probationer became, under

the veto, the pastor of a parish, he entered on his ministry under circumstances remarkably contrasted with those which often arose from almost unrestricted patronage. The intruded presentee, forced upon a reluctant people, was a being apart from them; perhaps irritated by their opposition, perhaps indifferent to their welfare, but at all events beginning his parental and pastoral care of them with the aspect of one who was determined to exact obnoxious dues from sullen debtors, and to exercise a hated authority upon those who would expel him if they could: under the veto he would not begin his ministerial labors among them till he had first secured their friendship; and, owing his appointment to their consent, he would feel a gratitude for their kindness blending with other motives to do them good.

“On the congregation, too, the influence of the veto was salutary. When a minister is forced upon a people against the principle of their church, and against their own convictions of his suitableness, their minds must be shut against his instructions, because they doubt his charity, and because they question his authority from Christ; but when they have solemnly expressed their belief that their pastor is well fitted to do them good, and he assumes his ministry among them, by their own consent, in accordance with every law of the Gospel and of their church, then are they prepared to listen to him with reverence and affection.

“The effect of these improved relations between the ministers of the Scotch Church and their people, was felt far beyond the bounds of the parishes in which new ministers were settled under the act. As unrestricted patronage and the settled worldliness to which it mainly gave rise in the church had driven many from it, and alienated many more who remained within it, so its friends now saw with joy its increasing spirituality, and the sight revived their attachment to it. Fresh activity began now to be displayed in multiplying the means of instruction through the land. During the dreary period of declension and spiritual death, from 1730, when ministers began to be generally intruded, to 1834, when the veto was enacted,

scarcely any additional buildings were erected for the worship of God, though the population had continued to increase. As late as 1797, all proposals to erect chapels-of-ease were discountenanced by the Assembly; and except by the direction of that authority, which was then hostile, no member of the church might erect one.

“The result of this policy, which was as neglectful of the welfare of the people as it was suicidal to the Establishment, was, that while six hundred congregations of dissenters grew up within that century, sixty-three chapels-of-ease alone were added to the fabrics of the Establishment. But, after the passing of the veto, new life was infused into the evangelical members of the church, and under their guidance new energy marked all its operations. In 1834, ministers of chapels-of-ease were admitted by the act of the Assembly to church courts and other privileges. In 1835, sixty-two new churches were either built or in progress, being only one less than the number which had been erected in the whole previous century; and at the end of five years, the number of new churches erected or in progress was 201; being an addition of more than one-fifth to the whole number of the churches in the Establishment in 1834.

“Meanwhile, the growing zeal of pious members of the church would not be confined to home objects. In 1796, an overture made to the Assembly in behalf of missions was rejected by 58 to 44. The speeches made against the overture by the clergymen who spoke on that occasion, preserved in a spirited tract by Mr. Hugh Miller, I will not characterize. But better counsels began to prevail: the principle of foreign missions was adopted in 1824; a colonial missionary scheme was instituted in 1836; a mission to the Jews was undertaken in 1838; and besides the erection of two hundred new churches at home, and large annual contributions to the scheme for education, the missionary income of the church increased, between 1834 and 1842, from 4856*l.* to 25,307*l.*

“Yet all this exertion was not the result of a spirit of sectarian rivalry. The same grace of God which had re-

vived evangelical doctrine in the church, had also opened the hearts of Christians within it to their brethren of other denominations. Bigotry often grows with the decay of piety, as the fungus flourishes most on a rotten tree ; and during the declension of the eighteenth century, the Church of Scotland did not become liberal. ‘ Saints by profession,’ says the Confession of the Church, ‘ are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God, &c., which communion, as God offers opportunity, is to be extended unto all those who in every place call upon the name of the Lord Jesus.’ ‘ In contravention, however, of this catholic doctrine of the Confession, and in opposition to the uniform practice of the Church of Scotland downward from the Reformation, the limits of ministerial communion with other churches were perseveringly straitened during the long reign of moderatism, till at last, by an act of Assembly, passed in 1799, the absolute exclusion of the ministers of every other church under heaven from even occasional preaching in the pulpits of the Establishment, was effected, and a declaration of non-communion in this matter against the whole Christian world was promulgated.’

“ Very different were the views of the evangelical majority of 1834, of which the following sentence, adopted by the Assembly in 1838, may be taken as an exposition : ‘ We protest, therefore, most solemnly, as our fathers often, at the utmost hazard of their lives, protested, against intolerance and persecution of every kind on account of religion, against all proceedings and plans whose object is to impose restraints, or pains and penalties, on men for conscience sake ; or in any other way to coerce or constrain their sentiments concerning the truth of God.’

“ These are sentiments worthy a Christian church ; and though the voluntary controversy still ran high, the conduct of the church since 1834 was calculated in various ways to lessen the asperity of dissent. The intolerant act of 1799 was modified, and ministers of foreign Presbyterian churches were admitted into the pulpits of the Establishment, which were eventually thrown open to other denominations also.

“Former exclusiveness had augmented the amount of dissent, and increased its bitterness. Under the influence of moderatism, the few seceding congregations of the Erskines and their friends grew into five hundred; and the whole number of dissenting congregations in 1834 was six hundred, or more than half the number of the congregations of the Establishment. But while the evangelical majority of 1834 had raised 201 new churches within five years after the passing the veto act, their principles and their piety so influenced many of the dissenters, that the burgher synod, comprehending about forty churches, reunited themselves with them.

“Thus the veto law, under the administration of the non-intrusionists in the Church of Scotland, aided by several other wholesome laws which they passed, had restrained the abuses of patronage, had induced presbyteries to be more strict in their examinations of candidates for the ministry, had raised the mental and moral qualifications of probationers, and was yearly enlarging the number of pious ministers. It cemented the affections of ministers and their flocks; it satisfied the consciences of the most enlightened and pious members of the church, and revived their affection toward it when viewed as an Establishment; it multiplied churches and schools; it improved the discipline of the church and augmented its resources; it established or strengthened missions to the colonies, to the heathen, and to the Jews; and it conciliated multitudes of dissenters, while it lessened the asperity of all.”¹

But the determined opposition to the veto by almost all our statesmen of all parties, the merciless maintenance of unrestricted patronage, the resolute defiance of the dangers foreseen to be involved in its maintenance, and the unrepentant steadfastness with which Parliament has clung to it, after 450 of the best and ablest of the Scotch ministers, by their forced secession, have left the Establishment almost a ruin, proves that, in the opinion of Parliament, the principle of an Establishment is essentially interwoven with the principle of patronage. Before these events in Scot-

¹ Case of the Free Church, pp. 14-30.

land I hoped for a reformation on this point in the Anglican churches; but no one can hope now. It has been irrevocably ruled, that a patronage which tramples down the rights of churches, and which in many instances allows the blind to nominate the blind as guides of the seeing, is the condition upon which the Establishment exists.

It seems, then, to me, that they who by the sovereign mercy of God have been brought out of darkness into light, and have enlisted loyally in the service of Christ, are bound either to recover the right of the churches, and to recall them to their duty in this vital matter; or if they are too weak for this achievement, then to act with the integrity which has done honor to the north, and leave the Establishment to drift down the stream of events in the hands of the blind and the deaf.

By thus resigning one spiritual right after another, the Anglican churches have lost much that ought to distinguish the churches of Christ. Their pastors are selected and supported by strangers, all sorts of persons may force their children into communion with them by baptism, and demand admission themselves to the Lord's table. They have no discipline except such as is exercised by a distant crown officer. As there is no exclusion of ungodly persons from their society, so they have little association among themselves; no church meetings being held either for their own spiritual welfare or for their united action in the service of Christ. In yielding to the dominion of the State, each church has lost all self-government, has cast away many of its most sacred functions, and has finished by abandoning its proper name; and preferring a secular to a sacred appellation, calls itself not a church, but a parish, as though it were ashamed, after its open infidelity to Christ, to call itself his church any longer.

SECTION IV.—*On the Principle of Coercion.*

A necessary consequence of the legal maintenance of the Anglican pastors is, that its payment should be secured by law. "The principle of coercion by penalty," says an

evangelical advocate of the Establishment, "must stand, because laws must be enforced." The provision for pastors must be "secured by compulsion, should compulsion be rendered necessary by resistance." "Let this stand. Let the penalty be modified so as not to touch the conscience or the person of any man, but only his property. It compels not to conformity in either worship or doctrine, but only to a pecuniary contribution for the supply of outward means. This will meet the exigencies of the case."¹ Such is substantially the existing law with respect to dissenters. Members of the Establishment may be still compelled to attend the parish church; for "no person can be duly discharged from attending his own parish church, or warranted in resorting to another, unless he be first duly licensed by his ordinary, who is the proper judge of the reasonableness of his request."² By 3 James I. cap. 4, "Persons not attending common prayer, according to 1 Eliz. cap. 2, are to be distrained for twelve-pence, and in default of distress are to be committed to prison till payment is made." By 23 Eliz. cap. 1, "Every person above the age of sixteen years who shall not repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, . . . shall forfeit to the queen 20*l.* per month." And by 31 Geo. III. cap. 32, "All the laws made and provided for frequenting divine service on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, shall be still in force, and executed against all persons who shall offend against the said laws."³ But though these acts are still in force against negligent members of the Establishment, dissenters are exempt from their application.

Great improvements have likewise been effected in the tithe-laws. Till recently, any person withholding his tithe might by the 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 13, be sued in the ecclesiastical court: "And if the ecclesiastical judge gave any sentence, and the party condemned did not obey the said sentence, it was lawful to every such judge to excommunicate the said party; and after forty days, the judge

¹ Lectures on the Church of England, pp. 181, 182.

² Burn, vol. iii. p. 406.

³ *Ib.* p. 408.

might require from the court of Chancery process *de excommunicato capiendo* to be awarded against him; in other words, might cause him to be arrested and imprisoned."¹ But by recent tithe-acts, a corn-rent, or rent-charge, payable in money and permanent in quantity, though fluctuating in value, is substituted for all tithes in England and Wales.² And by 6 and 7 Will. IV. cap. 71, "When the rent-charge is in arrear for twenty-one days after the half-yearly days of payment, the person entitled thereto may distrain."³

The law of church-rates is similar. "The repair of the fabric of the church is a duty which the parishioners are compelled to perform. The parishioners have no more power to throw off the burden of the repair of the church than that of the repair of bridges and highways."⁴ . . . The spiritual court has power and jurisdiction, by ecclesiastical censures, to compel the churchwardens to perform their duty in relation to the repairs of the church, to compel parishioners to perform their duty in providing means for making such repairs, and after a legal rate has been imposed to compel each individual to contribute the sum assessed upon him."⁵ And, by 53 George III. cap. 127, "If any one duly rated to a church-rate shall refuse or neglect to pay the same sum at which he is so rated, it shall be lawful for any one justice of the peace of the same county where the church is situated to convene before any two or more such justices any person so refusing, and by order under their hands to direct the payment of what is due, so as the sum do not exceed 10*l.* over the costs; and upon refusal to pay, it shall be lawful for any one of such justices by warrant to levy the money by distress and sale of the goods of such offender."

Thus, although persons may not now be imprisoned for conscientiously objecting to the union between Church and State, yet tithe-payers and rate-payers are compelled by law to maintain the pastors and to repair the buildings which they use for worship. These payers may generally

¹ Burn, iii. 750.

² Ib. p. 698.

³ Ib. p. 733, margin.

⁴ Ib. i. 338, 339.

⁵ Ib. p. 388, ¹, ^m.

be divided into five classes—the devout members of churches, worldly and thoughtless members, evangelical dissenters, Roman Catholics, and unbelievers. Let us consider the effect of compulsory payments upon each of these classes.

1. Devout and pious persons cheerfully comply with the demands of the law to support pious ministers, because they would, without the law, cheerfully pay more than they do now to support them. But the compulsory system has occasioned two great evils with respect to this class. 1. It has entirely obscured and hidden from the world the liberality with which they, in obedience to Christ's commands, would maintain their pastors, because their present payments are made under compulsion of law. Five thousand pastors, maintained by the zeal and generosity of the Anglican Churches, would be an impressive proof of their faith and love, but sixteen thousand pastors, maintained by compulsion of law, are no proof of faith and love in the payer whatsoever. 2. The majority of the pastors are worldly men, who, according to Christ's law, ought not to be pastors at all; and, in all these cases, pious members of a church are compelled to expend on the maintenance of an ungodly pastor the money by which, if free, they might have secured a faithful one.

2. Wordly members of churches, being often reluctant to pay their pastors' dues, have frequent occasions of contention with their pastors, sometimes respecting the amount of the payments, and sometimes on account of arrears. Such altercations, while they last, defeat the object for which the ministry has been established, and tend to alienate the pastor and the people from each other. That he might not lessen his influence as a minister, Paul at Corinth refused to receive even spontaneous contributions from the church (1 Cor. ix. 12), but Anglican ministers, to the destruction of their influence, compel their hearers, by process of law, to pay what is due. Law and custom have so blinded men's minds, that in culpable disregard to the example of an inspired apostle, the ministers of Christ secure their interest to the ruin of their usefulness.

3. Evangelical dissenters often complain that these compulsory payments are unjust, 1. because, objecting to the union of Church and State, they are compelled to support what they condemn; 2, because they are compelled to support the pastors of others, whose ministry is of no service to them; 3. because, being much poorer than the Anglican Churches, they are compelled to make a double payment, first for the pastors of the Anglicans, secondly, for their own. The advocates of the Establishment reply, that for a great national object all must be taxed alike, and that if they choose to support a second set of pastors, this is entirely the result of their own fancy. But how can this answer satisfy the dissenter? Believing the union to be wrong, and that the Anglican churches would be more effective if they ceased to be established, he can not but feel that the tax laid upon him to support that mischievous union is both burdensome and unjust. But when he labors for its removal, the advocates of the union resent this as an injury, and hence perpetual strife is occasioned among the servants of Christ.

4. Roman Catholics and unbelievers have, of course, similar objections, and may well feel it to be a hardship to be compelled to support what one believes to be heresy, what the other pronounces to be delusion, and both imagine to be mischievous. If an Anglican minister would preach to these two classes, the slightest regard to the success of his mission should prompt him to refuse their contributions. So the first ministers of Christ did, as we learn from the following passage in the third epistle of St. John:—"Beloved, thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren and to strangers; which have borne witness of thy charity before the church: whom, if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well; because that, for his name's sake, they went forth taking nothing of the Gentiles." Compelled to support a doctrine which they repudiate, both Roman Catholics and unbelievers must become still more alienated from it and from its ministers, whose ministrations must necessarily become sterile, and their mission a failure.

By this system the ears of the irreligious population, in general, are closed against the established ministers, because they see that the poorer classes pay for the pastors of the rich ; that the many pay for the pastors of the few ; and that those who protest against their ministry have to pay no less than those who use it. This, as much as any other cause, has alienated the Irish against Protestantism. To make dissenters and Roman Catholics pay for the pastor of the neighboring noble and his tenantry, is the same thing as to make them pay for his lawyer or his physician ; and to allege that it is in pursuance of a system which is advantageous to the country, no more carries conviction to their minds in the one case than it would in the two others.

The ends for which Christ has instituted the ministry is, that evangelists, by turning sinners from the power of Satan unto God, may save their souls, and that pastors may build up the disciples of Christ in faith and piety. For these ends it is necessary that they should love and be loved : for men will not listen to those whom they despise or hate. St. Paul, therefore, jealously avoided whatever could impair either the esteem or the affection of his hearers. For this he maintained so contented a temper at Ephesus, that he could say, "I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel ;" while, at the same time, he was so poor that he could add, "Ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me."¹ To the Corinthians, too, among whom he feared that his motives would be mistaken, and his ministry hindered, if he should accept any money from them, he made the following profession :—"I will not be burdensome to you : for I seek not yours but you. And I will very gladly spend and be spent for you."² These precedents seem to me to furnish rules for all Christian ministers, who can not have stronger reasons for exacting a maintenance from reluctant hearers than he had. But by our system pastors are made collectors of a tax, and share in the odium which usually falls upon the tax-gatherer. But with this important difference, that other tax-

¹ Acts xx. 33, 34.

² 2 Cor. xii. 14, 15.

gatherers collect for the use of the government, while Anglican pastors collect for themselves. They seize the goods of their brethren by distraint, or compel them to pay by the fear of that process: shepherds give up their sheep to be worried by justices of the peace for church-rates, the pastor is forgotten in the rector, the ends of the ministry are sacrificed to questionable means, interminable schisms rend the churches, and the evangelization of the ungodly ceases.

Under the Mosaic law, which was a system of minute detail and of rigid exaction, priests could not compel the Israelites to pay their tithes, nor could monarchs enact tithe-laws in their behalf; but we, under the Gospel, which is a message of salvation, the whole character of which is charity and good-will to man, authorize the pastor to compel his reluctant hearers to pay him for bringing to them Christ's message. The rule of payment established by the apostle is, "*Every man, as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give, not grudgingly or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver.*"¹ The Anglican rule is—"Every man according as the law prescribes, let him pay, however grudgingly, for the rector shall have his right." It is Christ's declared will that the hearers should pay the teacher spontaneously and generously, from a regard to justice, and from a feeling of gratitude, "*Let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things.*"² But it is the will of the State that all the parishioners who are not hearers should pay the teacher against whom they protest, and thus take the burden from the hearers who ought to bear it. Common justice and common sense are alike disregarded by the arrangement, and the ends of the pastoral office are sacrificed to the means of maintaining the pastor.

CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART.

Let us now recapitulate what has been said. The union between the Church and the State in any coun-

¹ 2 Cor. ix. 7.

² Gal. vi. 6.

try, involving as it does, the subordination of the Church to the State, is unprincipled, absurd, and mischievous. The State being the world, it is a close alliance between the church and the world—which Christ has forbidden. The Church being in spiritual things the parent, and the State its child, it is an unnatural subordination of the parent to the child. History abundantly condemns it as uniformly hostile to spiritual religion; and it is condemned by the provisions of the Mosaic economy, by the language of the Hebrew prophets, and by the express declarations of Christ and his apostles.

The union of the Churches with the State in this country, rests upon four main principles—the legal maintenance of the pastors, the supremacy of the State, patronage, and compulsion. In supporting this union, Christians who are charged by the authority of Christ to support their own pastors, have devolved this duty upon the State; and being bound to interpret and enforce Christ's laws for themselves, they have committed to the State, that is to the world, the right to superintend them; thus allowing the supremacy of the world to encroach upon the supremacy of Christ. It is Christ's declared will that they should select their pastors with the greatest care, according to the direction which he has left for this purpose; and they have left the nomination of their pastors to others, who are for the most part men of the world, not reserving to themselves even the liberty of objecting to the intrusive nominee. And while every offering to God should be free, and Christian ministers ought to receive no contribution which can hinder their usefulness, Anglican Christians allow the State to alienate thousands from the Gospel by compelling them to pay for the support of good and bad pastors indiscriminately on pain of the spoliation of their goods. The support of the first of these principles of the union involves Anglican Christians in the guilt of a selfish and covetous disregard of positive duty. Their allowance of the State supremacy is infidelity to Christ, their King and Head. The third principle which they support is destructive of their spiritual welfare; and the fourth renders them schismatical toward

their dissenting brethren, and uncharitable to every other recusant. All these four principles are unscriptural, corrupt, and noxious ; and by placing the churches of Christ under the influence of men of the world, hinder their free action, destroy their spirituality, and perpetuate their corruptions.

Were this union to be now for the first time proposed to Christian men, I believe there is scarcely one who would not instantly repudiate it. Custom alone can account for its continuance. Christians have been familiar with it from their infancy ; romantic associations are connected with it ; a thousand times they have heard it termed venerable ; few ever study the directions of the word of God upon that subject ; governments, patrons, prelates, incumbents, and expectants, are all interested in its stability ; and numbers belonging to a large political party dread all innovations, and especially those which would strengthen the popular element in any of our institutions. Erroneous opinions, eagerly embraced and assiduously reiterated, invest it with an air of sacredness. And many who resolutely shut their eyes to the evils which it entails, and who close their ears against all expositions of its corruption, applaud even the blindest and most headlong of its advocates ; glorify with their hosannas reasonings which are palpably weak ; sustain their tottering cause by expositions of Scripture which are worthy of Rome itself ; misrepresent the scriptural system which should replace it ; predict the most doleful results from changes which would occasion a general revival of religion ; cry "Ichabod," when they should shout as David when he anticipated the erection of the temple, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates ; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors ; and the King of glory shall come in ;" appeal to martyrs of ancient date who, if their gigantic energies could once more do battle on the earth, would gallantly lead on the army of the second reformation ; and when all reasons fail for their adherence to a system which is incurably corrupt, oppose to all reasoning their unalterable resolution, and rise to a sort of heroism by nailing their colors to the mast in defense of that which every

enlightened man would seek by the help of God to overthrow.

Under these circumstances, the little band who, with less courage than the crisis demands, investigate their duty in the word of God, are called more resolutely and more perseveringly to summon the churches of Christ to accomplish their Redeemer's will. Let them demand, on behalf of Christ, that the churches of this land substitute persuasion for compulsion in the advancement of the cause of God; that they receive no pastors but those whom the word of God sanctions; that they maintain the sovereignty of Christ, by claiming the right of unrestricted submission to all his laws; and that they support their own pastors according to his will.

Should we in this cause meet with some rude assaults, the cause is worth the conflict. The humble tomb at Thermopylæ speaks more to the generous traveler than the sky-pointing pyramids. For when the three hundred Spartans stood on the narrow causeway between Mount Cæta and the sea, to guard the liberties of their country against an innumerable host of invaders, resolved to die rather than yield, they did that which will live in the hearts of brave men while the world lasts. And the liberties of Christ's churches are more precious than the civil liberties of Greece. Let each minister, and each Christian, who knows that the principles of the union are corrupt and dishonorable to Christ, resolve that they will terminate the bondage of the Anglican churches by destroying it, and, with the aid of God, they will at last succeed.

PART II.

THE EFFECTS OF THE UNION.

HAVING shown that the principles of the union are unscriptural and corrupt, I might consider my task accomplished, and ask my Christian brethren to labor with me for its removal. No good effects can justify what is evil in principle, and every Christian should seek to destroy the union because it is criminal, without waiting to survey its consequences. The effect, moreover, of what is evil in principle can never be ultimately good. Sooner or later, bad principles are sure to work bad results; and when any measure, as the union, has been shown to be criminal, all practical men ought to condemn it as certain to be at length mischievous. But few persons value simple principle as it deserves. Numbers, on the contrary, test every principle by its results; and so long as the effects of any established custom are not palpably injurious, they will blind their eyes to all its violations of principle. Foreigners say that this is particularly the weakness of Englishmen, who are eminently utilitarians, and will seldom move earnestly on any subject which does not conduct *immediately* to important consequences.

This being the case, I will proceed to consider the effects of the union ON PERSONS AND ON THINGS, that those persons who have accustomed themselves to judge of measures chiefly by their results, may see what cause we have, as Christians, to wish for a dissolution of the union.

2

CHAPTER I.

EFFECTS OF THE UNION UPON PERSONS.

I now proceed to consider the disastrous influence of the union upon prelates, pastors, and curates, upon members of the Anglican Churches, and upon dissenters, all of whom suffer great mischief from that ill-principled compact of the Churches with the State, to which our reformers, in days of partial knowledge and of rude conflict, weakly assented, because they were glad to bribe the State for its support against their gigantic and implacable Roman foe.

SECTION I.—*Influence of the Union upon Bishops.*

THE Lord Jesus Christ has appointed pastors and teachers¹ to convert the ungodly,² to feed his flock as his under-shepherds,³ to build up Christians in their faith,⁴ and to be instrumentally the cause of salvation to their hearers.⁵ For this end to set them high examples of piety,⁶ to be lovers of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful word,⁷ and to be filled with the Holy Ghost and wisdom.⁸ But whatever excellence is required in the pastor of a church, must be much more requisite in those who assume the office of pastor of pastors. Prelacy can be useful only when the prelate, surpassing the pastors whom he governs, employs his immense influence to render them wiser and better men. To fulfill his office rightly he must be more free than his brethren from ambition and covetousness, more spiritually-minded, more

¹ Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 28.

³ Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 2.

⁵ 1 Tim. iv. 16.

⁷ Tit. i. 8, 9.

² Matt. xxviii. 19.

⁴ Eph. iv. 12.

⁶ 1 Tim. iv. 12; 1 Pet. v. 3.

⁸ Acts vi. 3.

devoted to his ministry, more anxious to bring sinners to Christ, more brotherly and liberal to his fellow-Christians, more zealous for the honor of his Master, more entirely consecrated to God. As a pastor who is less pious than the members of the church over which he presides, does them mischief, because his ministrations tend to bring them down to his level ; so a prelate less pious than the pastors whom he governs, inflicts on them a similar mischief. His duty to them is what theirs is to the churches. He has to convert unconverted ministers, to guide the erring, to reclaim the backsliding, to animate the despondent, to strengthen the weak, to encourage and aid the most devoted. To accomplish these objects, he must surpass them in wisdom and Christian experience, in faith and fervency, in meekness and self-control, in holiness and spirituality of mind. Like Paul he should be able to say, "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ."¹ "Be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an example."²

To an office like this a man ought to be chosen, with exclusive reference to his spiritual qualifications, by pious men, with the utmost caution and with the most solemn prayer. When the church at Jerusalem chose Matthias as one of those most suitable to succeed the apostate Judas in his place as an apostle, they then sought the guidance of God.³ And when Paul was set apart for his mission to the Gentiles by the presbyters of Antioch, they fulfilled that duty with fasting and prayer.⁴ And even our Lord, before he chose his twelve apostles, spent the whole night in prayer.⁵ With no less solemnity, earnestness, and dependence upon God, should pious men choose those prelates who exercise so vast an influence in the Anglican Churches for good or evil. But ministers of State are little likely to choose them in this manner. Since prelates have votes in Parliament, where parties are often nearly equal, the most religious statesmen are strongly tempted to make zeal for their political party a leading qualification for a bishopric ;

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 1.² Phil. iii. 17 ; see also Acts xx. 20, 31-35.³ Acts i.⁴ Acts xiii. 3.⁵ Luke vi. 12.

and, secondly, since prime-ministers are usually the ablest men of their party, chosen, without reference to religious character, for their knowledge of public affairs and their administrative skill, they have often been destitute of piety. Hence men have often been raised to the bench from party considerations : the choice of the nominee being determined by the wish to please a powerful adherent, or to strengthen the party by the accession of a debater of known capacity, not to mention more questionable motives. The way to rise is obvious. Let any cleric of fair abilities, who aspires to rank and power, be respectable but not over religious, make himself a good scholar, write some work of literary merit, be a moderate but firm supporter of the party in power, express no opinions on any subject which could be inconvenient to the Government, be a foe to innovation without being unfriendly to improvements of detail, cultivate the friendship both of powerful families and influential prelates, be a staunch but good-tempered supporter of the church against dissent ; above all, be a safe man, who neither in the administration of a diocese, nor in any parliamentary business, would create embarrassment to the government, and he may be almost sure of reaching the highest honors of his profession. I will not say—

“ That he
Must serve who fain would sway ; and soothe and sue
And watch all time, and pry into all place,
And be a living lie—who would become
A mighty thing among the mean ;”

but a course too near to this has often led to greatness. Governments can count upon the services of pliant men who never form inconvenient opinions ; but they would be exposed to trouble should they nominate any man who, with severe integrity and ardent love of truth, will frankly express his convictions, and manifest the least approach to the temper of a reformer.

If, likewise, the first minister of the Crown, and the lord chancellor, who chiefly determine the appointments, happen to be irreligious men, then though they may be moral and estimable men, they can not appreciate the spir-

itual qualifications which alone should direct their choice. Christ has said of his disciples : "*If ye were of the world, the world would love his own ; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you ;*"¹ and Paul has added : "*The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God ; for they are foolishness unto him ; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.*"² "*Therefore,*" adds St. John, "*the world knoweth us not because it knew him not.*"³ As long as these statements remain true, unconverted ministers of the Crown, however estimable and able they may be, are likely to consider the spirituality of mind and the love for evangelical truth which, according to Scripture, are essential to the pastor, and therefore much more to the prelate, a disqualification for the bench. Under the influence which public opinion has acquired, we shall not see again such a ministry as that which was composed of Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale ; nor will many chancellors, it is to be hoped, rival Lord Jeffreys in profligacy ; but the mere possibility of such men appointing prelates, whose all-controlling and plastic influence over the clergy justifies their usual appellation of the heads of the church, is an evil which the Anglican Churches should not tolerate. But premiers, far more respectable than Buckingham, and chancellors less profligate than Jeffreys, would select for the prelacy decent worldly men in preference to men of evangelical earnestness. In the late ecclesiastical struggle in Scotland the moderates were much more in favor with the government than the evangelicals ; and our history has shown that a similar class in England has been generally preferred by successive ministers of State. I rejoice to declare my conviction, that the present prime-minister is conscientious in his appointments, and has advanced men of great worth. I gladly express the great respect which I feel for several prelates with whom I have the honor of being acquainted, especially for the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose elevation to that high office is as beneficial to

¹ John xv. 19.² 1 Cor. ii. 14.³ 1 John iii. 1.

the Church of England as it is creditable to Lord John Russell. But I write not respecting individuals, but institutions—of what has been and will be—of the course of patronage in past days and of its probable course in days to come. “I am a happy accident,” said the Emperor Alexander to Madame de Staël, when she was led by the observation of his personal virtues into too favorable an opinion of the atrocious system of government of which he was the head. Lord John Russell and Dr. Sumner are happy accidents.

While thus it is much to be feared that a succession of worldly statesmen, as in past times, will secure a succession of worldly prelates, who, being exalted to posts of vast influence and of undefined prerogative, will use both rather to repress spiritual religion than to promote it, no dependence can be placed on the use of the *congé d'elire* by the deans and chapters; for if they refuse to elect the minister's nominee, each member of the chapter is liable to the intolerable penalties of a *præmunire*. He is, therefore, never rejected; and when, duly elected and presented by two bishops to the archbishop, he makes the required promises, he is as sure of consecration as he was previously of election. No cases of refusal occur; the patronage of the prime-minister carries him through all difficulties. Each successive archbishop says to each successive nominee, “Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands.” And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands.” Upon which the nominee is numbered, as many think, among the successors of the apostles.

When Anglican presbyters are thus advanced to the prelacy by the State, the influence of their new position must be dangerous even to the best and wisest men.

1. They are first put by the State in possession of a palace and 5000*l.* per annum. Our Lord has said, “*A rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven; it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.*”¹

¹ Matt. xix. 23, 24.

When we think of these words of Christ so little considered, and so worthy of repeated consideration, we must see that to become possessed of this wealth—not by inheritance, nor by industry, both which prepare for it, and in some measure correct its influence, but by sudden donation—must be dangerous to the spiritual welfare of any one.

2. In the next place they are made peers. Honor is ensnaring, and, in their case, adds the intoxication of greatness to that of wealth. But in another view this practice is still more detrimental. When the apostles were consulted respecting the administration of a charitable fund at Jerusalem, they replied, “*It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables :*” and then, having directed the church to choose its deacons, they added, “*But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word.*”¹ Timothy, likewise, was thus directed by St. Paul with respect to the direct duties of his ministry : “*Meditate upon these things ; give thyself wholly to them ; that thy profiting may appear to all. . . . Preach the word ; be instant in season, out of season ; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine. . . . Watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry.*”² In opposition to these directions our prelates are loaded with a number of duties in their dioceses, which leave little leisure or inclination to “preach the word” or to “do the work of an evangelist ;” and then are tempted to make themselves accomplished politicians and skillful debaters by being called to share in the numerous politico-religious debates which now occupy the attention of Parliament.

3. The State has laid another snare for each prelate. As if wealth and dignity, aristocratic associations and political excitement, were not sufficient obstacles to his humility and spirituality of mind, it has surrounded him with numbers of needy clergymen, and invested him with a large amount of patronage. The archbishops and bishops of England and Wales have, together, 1248 benefices in their gift, besides other church preferment. The Arch-

¹ Acts vi. 2-4.

² 1 Tim. iv. 15 ; 2 Tim. iv. 2, 5.

bishop of Canterbury presents to 148 livings; the Archbishop of York, to 103; the Bishop of London, to 86; the Bishop of Norwich, to 95; the Bishop of Lincoln, to 156; the Bishop of St. David's, to 102; and the Bishop of St. Asaph, to 120.¹ While this patronage tends to depress the clergy into a degrading servility of temper, it tempts the prelate to undue self-exaltation, and is likely to create in him an impetuous and arbitrary temper toward those who so much depend upon his favor for their subsistence.

4. On the other hand, the State has thrown in his way an opposite temptation, to servility toward the ministers of the crown, by offering him the prospect of translation to a richer see. The late act, 6 and 7 Will. IV., for equalizing the revenues of the sees has diminished this temptation; but still the sees of Winchester, Durham, and London, of York and of Canterbury, glitter before the eyes of those who are nominated by the minister to the poorer sees. The evangelist Timothy, to whose position Episcopalian writers often allude as illustrating the office of diocesans, received from the apostle Paul, who had occasion to notice the covetousness and the self-indulgence of many, the following advice: "*Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which, while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. But thou, O man of God, flee these things.*"² In the presence of these apostolic cautions to the ministers of Christ, the State stimulates the curate to his duty by the prospect of a living, the incumbent by the hope of a prebendal stall, the prebendary by the sight of a deanery, the dean by the richer prizes of a bishopric, and the bishop by visions of Lambeth and of Bishopsthorpe, where he may feel on a level with the loftiest and the proudest of the realm.

5. The duties imposed by the State upon the bishop are further unfavorable to the cultivation of a liberal spirit

¹ M'Culloch's "Statistics," ii. 406.

² 1 Tim. vi. 8-11.

toward other churches, or a disposition to reform his own. Before his consecration he is a third time required to take the oath of supremacy, by which he consents to devolve the spiritual superintendence of the Anglican Churches upon the State in derogation of the authority of Christ, which State supremacy he must, of course, afterward defend. At the ordination of a priest, he is obliged by the State to say to the kneeling candidate, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands." That these words are words not of prayer but of power may be seen, first, from the form of the expression; secondly, from their use by our Lord when he addressed them to his apostles;¹ thirdly, from the words which follow them in the ordination service, "Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained;" and, fourthly, by the words which follow them in the consecration service, "Remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands." Accordingly, the Bishop of Oxford has thus commented upon them: "All this is the most blasphemous frivolity, if it be not the deepest truth. But truth it is: the self-same truth as that which turned the madness of that upper chamber into a reality which has subdued the world. Only let our faith lay hold of it: for Christ is with us in spiritual presence as truly as he was with them."² Thus the bishop, like Christ the eternal Son of God, communicates the Holy Spirit, and that not to apostles already devoted to Christ, but to young men, many of whom are so frivolous, it may be, that in a purer state of the churches, they would be excluded from the table of the Lord as sportsmen, dancers, and card-players, or semi-papal Anglo-Catholics.

This dangerous inflation of the bishop is likely to be confirmed by the prayer which the State obliges him to use at the time that he lays his hands on the heads of the young persons who kneel down to him at confirmation.

¹ John xx. 22, 23.

² Ordination Sermon, p. 24. Rivingtons, 1846.

That the Holy Spirit is believed to be then communicated by the imposition of the hands of the prelates who have been nominated by the prime-minister, and forced upon the chapter and the archbishop by the terrors of a *præmunire*, may be inferred from the language of some of the ablest of our prelates. Thus, in an "Address to be read in Church," preparatory for confirmation, issued by the Bishop of London this year (1848), the clergyman, who is requested by the bishop to read it as his own to the people, is made to say, "It is my duty to exhort the younger members of my flock, who are of age to understand the nature of those promises which were made for them at their baptism, to embrace that opportunity of publicly ratifying and confirming the same, . . . that BY IMPOSITION OF HANDS, and by prayer, agreeably to the practice of the church in all ages, THEY MAY OBTAIN THE BLESSING OF GOD'S HOLY SPIRIT." Multitudes of children are brought to confirmation by worldly parents and by worldly ministers; all children of parochial schools, above a certain age, are sometimes driven like a herd of cattle to confirmation. I have seen their undisguised levity at the time of the ceremony; I have known instances in the country in which the ceremony has been made the occasion of holiday merriment, and, I fear, it is still so in many country towns and villages. The bishop can know nothing of the children except by the testimony of clergymen, who may be themselves ungodly, yet he is compelled by the State to say of all those hundreds and thousands of children who crowd to have his hands laid upon them, that God has "vouchsafed to regenerate them by the Holy Ghost, and has given unto them forgiveness of all their sins;" and that he lays his hands upon them "to certify them by this sign of God's favor and gracious goodness toward them." All this is vastly inflating.

Next, the State requires the bishop to compel his clergy to maintain the doctrine, the discipline, and the mode of worship in the Church of England, in certain questionable particulars. If any minister within his diocese is accused to him of having denied any one of the thirty-nine articles,

of having violated any one of the canons, or of having deviated from the rubric, he must see that the offense be punished. If a minister should be accused to a bishop of denying that it is generally lawful to use the ministry of evil men, the bishop must maintain against him the twenty-sixth article, which asserts its lawfulness. If any minister should neglect in any particular to observe the ceremonies prescribed by the rubric, however obsolete and inconvenient, the bishop, upon complaint being made, must enforce against him the fourteenth canon. If complaint be made to a bishop that a minister has impeached any part of the regal supremacy, against the second canon ; or that he has declared any statement of the prayer-book to be repugnant to Scripture, against the fourth canon ; or that any part of any one of the thirty-nine articles is erroneous, against the fifth canon ; or that any dissenting ministers with their hearers constitute Christian churches, against the tenth canon ; or if complaint be made that he has denied every layman in the parish to be bound to receive the Lord's Supper three times a year, against the twenty-second canon ; or that he has administered the Lord's Supper to avowed dissenters, or to any who scruple to kneel at it, or to persons from other parishes, against the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth canons ; or that he has preached in any private house, against the seventy-first canon ; or that he has attended any clerical meetings for the reformation of the Establishment, against the seventy-third canon—the bishop must enforce these canons, and inflict the legal punishment upon the offenders, which is, in other words, to be the agent of the State to punish good men for doing their duty. All this the bishop is compelled to do by the State, because the Crown alone makes the canons to be binding on the clergy, and the State alone prevents their revision.

From this enumeration of some of the functions of a prelate imposed by the State, it is too obvious that a pastor suddenly raised by the fiat of the premier to the prelatic dignity must undergo temptations of no ordinary force. How can one, whose position was so humble, become at

once so lofty without giddiness? That smile of a statesman has made him at once a peer, the master of a palace, the owner of a lordly revenue, the successor of apostles. Thenceforth he shines in Parliament, and moves amid the most splendid circles of the wealthiest nation of the earth; or, retiring to his palace, he administers within its baronial precincts an extended patronage, wields an absolute scepter over one-third of the clergy, and by an indefinite prerogative awes and controls the rest; meets with no one to question his opinions or contradict his will; and may look along a lengthened vista of enjoyments to the more dazzling splendor and prerogatives of Lambeth. If a man, under these circumstances, is not deteriorated, he must have extraordinary wisdom and virtue. To the efficiency of most men as ministers of the Gospel, these circumstances would be fatal. They would cease to be pastors; their preaching would become lordly, heartless, and infrequent; and they would grow worldly, covetous, self-indulgent, proud, and imperious. If, under all circumstances, "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God," wealth, dignity, patronage, and prerogative thus combining, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Through such an ordeal, scarcely the best men in the kingdom could pass unscathed. But, to make the matter worse, worldly statesmen are, in general, likely to create worldly prelates, and to expose men whose tempers are ambitious, and who have given no proofs of spirituality, to temptations strong enough to corrupt the wisest and the most devout.

But when worldly men are chosen by the government, and are rendered more worldly by the disadvantages of their position, their distribution of livings, their visitation charges, their circuits for confirmation, their private intercourse with the clergy, and their whole influence, must check evangelical religion, and add to the numbers of worldly and unsound incumbents throughout the land. In injuring the religious character of the bishops, the union injures the character of the churches over which they

preside. Pastors, curates, people, all catch the worldly taint; and if there is reason to believe that the ministers of the Crown will ever select a majority of unevangelical and worldly men to be the prelates of the Establishment, there is reason to fear that, under their influence, the churches of the Establishment will remain, like them, unevangelical and worldly.

SECTION II.—*Effects of the Union upon Pastors.*

The word *episcopos*, ἐπίσκοπος, which signifies superintendent, overseer, or bishop, is used five times in the New Testament.¹ In the first epistle of Peter it is applied to our Lord; in the other four places it is applied to pastors of congregations: it is never in the New Testament applied to a diocesan or prelate. The word *episcopo*, ἐπισκοπή, occurs twice in the sense of bishopric, or the office of superintendent.² Once it is applied to Judas, and once it describes the office of a pastor; but it never expresses the office of a diocesan or a prelate. And the word *episcopeo*, ἐπισκοπέω, is likewise applied to the exercise of the pastoral office; never to the exercise of the prelatie office.³ When, therefore, we meet with this word in the New Testament, we must apply it to pastors not to prelates.

Our Lord has indicated the qualifications of those who may be chosen as *episcopoî*, ἐπίσκοποι, pastors of churches, in the following passages:—

“*And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church. And when they were come to him, he said unto them, . . . Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers (ἐπισκόπους), to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. . . . Therefore watch, and remember, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears . . . I have coveted no man’s silver, or gold, or apparel. Yea, ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered*

¹ Acts xx. 28; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 7; 1 Pet. ii. 25.

² Acts i. 20; 1 Tim. iii. 1.

³ 1 Pet. v. 2.

*unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things, how that so laboring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive."*¹

"Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi, with the bishops (or pastors) and deacons. . . . Let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ; that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the Gospel.² . . . Do all things without murmurings and disputings; that ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life.³ . . . Therefore, my brethren dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved. . . . Let your moderation be known unto all men; the Lord is at hand. Be careful for nothing; but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God.⁴ . . . This is a true saying, If a man desire the office of a bishop (or of a pastor), he desireth a good work. A bishop (i. e. pastor) must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behavior, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; (for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?) Not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the devil. Moreover, he must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into reproach and the snare of the devil.⁵ . . . Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in

¹ Acts xx. 17, 18, 28, 31, 33-35.

² Phil. i. 1, 27.

³ Phil. ii. 14-16.

⁴ Phil. iv. 1, 5, 6.

⁵ 1 Tim. iii. 1-7.

*Christ Jesus. And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.*¹ . . . *A bishop (i. e. pastor) must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate; holding fast the faithful word.*² . . . *The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder. . . . Feed the flock of God, which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.*"³

Unconverted men, on the other hand, though preachers of the Gospel, are declared to be strangers to him: "*Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruits.*"⁴ . . . *Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.*"⁵

All unconverted and ungodly persons, professing to be Christians, whether pastors or others, are said to be zizania, weeds among the wheat, children of the wicked one, and sown among believers by the wicked one.⁶ Those who preach false doctrine are declared to be false apostles, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ, and ministers of Satan, pretending to be ministers of righteousness.⁷ Preachers who pervert the doctrines of the Gospel, and especially the doctrine of justification by the righteousness of Christ through faith alone, ought to be cut off from the church.⁸ From these passages it is evident that those

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 1, 2.³ 1 Pet. v. 1-3.⁵ Matt. vii. 22, 23.⁷ 2 Cor. xi. 3, 12-15.² Tit. i. 7-9.⁴ Matt. vii. 15, 16.⁶ Matt. xiii. 24, 25, 38, 39.⁸ Gal. i. 8, 9; v. 12.

pastors alone minister to the churches of Christ by his authority who are sound in doctrine, faithful, holy, and experienced men; who take the episcopate of their churches, not for the sake of income, but from hearty zeal: sober, just, and temperate; all others though regularly ordained, being intruders into the ministry, disowned by him.

Here let us, for a moment, imagine the effect upon this country if all the pastors of the Anglican Churches were such as the New Testament declares that they ought to be. In 1847, the number of the working clergy in England and Wales was 12,923.¹ The population of England and Wales in 1841 was 15,906,829, and must be now above 16,000,000. The number of Anglican pastors, is therefore, on an average, one to each 1230 of the population; *i. e.* one to each 246 families. Rightly directed, therefore, there are now Anglican ministers enough to carry the Gospel to the fireside of every family in the land; and when we subtract the millions of dissenters, who have provided for themselves abundant pastoral superintendence, and then consider the lay agency which has of late years been brought into activity, these 13,000 pastors, if faithful and zealous men, which they are bound by the law of Christ to be, would be more than sufficient to supply the spiritual wants of the country. Thirteen thousand ministers in the apostolic age would have preached the Gospel to many more than sixteen millions; and so might these: but the torpedo touch of the State has paralyzed them. Individual ministers may, through divine grace, overcome, in some degree, the influence of the system under which they live; but a legal income, the prospect of preferment, wealth and dignity, the ubiquitous influence of the State supremacy, multiplied restrictions upon evangelic zeal, with unrestricted liberty to be indolent, dependence upon worldly patrons, and the possession of exclusive prerogatives, must ever hinder the incumbents of England from being zealous evangelists to the community at large.

The very names given to Anglican pastors indicate the
Horsman, "Speech on Bishopric of Manchester Bill," p. 20.

spiritual havoc which the union has done among them, In the New Testament Christian teachers are called pastors (ἐπίσκοποι, or superintendents), ministers, evangelists: but in the Establishment they are transformed into clerks, parsons, presentees, priests, rectors, incumbents—all words expressing nothing spiritual or paternal. The pastoral office is changed into a benefice, a living, an incumbency, a freehold; and the true idea of a church being obliterated, the only church of which the parishioners have any notion is the old stone building, round which, for centuries, their fathers' graves have been multiplying.

But let us consider these points more in detail. First, we will notice the influence which the union exerts upon Anglican pastors, by affording them a legal income. In this its advocates most glory. It gives dignity and independence, they think, to the pastor. Those who, like actors, must please to live, like actors will live to please. Stern truth must be banished from the pulpit, and nothing be heard but what flatters the pride, and indulges the frailties, of the purse-bearers. While those whose income is secure can afford to scorn this servility, and can assume the authority of a parent toward his children.

Unfortunately for this theory, it is against the law of Christ, who has ordained that the minister should be maintained by the spontaneous offerings of the church; and, whatever plausibility it may possess, we might expect that experience would disprove it. A wide and long experience has disproved it, in fact. The mode in which the law of Christ is obeyed by a congregational church is as follows: When the pastor is called by the church to settle among them, the church promises him a certain income at a church-meeting, the deacons being the officers who are to superintend the accomplishment of the promise. Persons who have seats in the chapel are invited to contribute according to their means, and at the close of the year the receipts are reported to the church at one of its meetings. Should they fall short of the stipulated sum, the defect is made up by the members of the church, according to their means and their liberality. In all these pecuniary matters

the pastor has no concern, they are settled by the deacons and the church without him. Should a minister be unfaithful or incapable, his congregation would diminish, the receipts would fail, and, after a time, he must resign his office. Under such circumstances an irreligious, weak, or ignorant minister would be tempted to flatter the congregation, and to make himself popular by servility; but such low arts would only precipitate his removal, since they would necessarily alienate all the earnest and intelligent members of the church, who are the pastor's chief supporters. A zealous and faithful man is under no such temptation. It is found, with scarcely one exception, among thousands of cases, both in England and in the United States, that such a minister, with good sense and good temper, is generously and affectionately sustained by the church: and no others ought to be ministers, or can expect to be sustained. Moreover, it is evident, from the nature of the case, that the most faithful minister is sure to be the most appreciated: for the chief supporters of the ministry are true Christians, whose chief interest is to secure their own salvation and the salvation of their families. Such persons value most the preaching which most enlightens and improves them, which most reaches the conscience, and which most warms the heart. The bold, earnest, sincere, affectionate minister, with whom the Lord works (Mark xvi. 20), who prays in the Holy Ghost (Jude 20), and who preaches "in the demonstration of the Spirit," "with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven," is necessarily the minister who does them the most good, who most wins their esteem, and for whom they are ready to make the greatest sacrifices. The worldly may be offended and retire, the church is built up, and its members sustain his efforts with affectionate gratitude. Instead of being tempted to servility and flattery, such a minister has every inducement to be faithful both with respect to doctrine and Christian morals. Christ, in his law for the maintenance of his ministers, has not neglected to furnish them with secondary motives to fulfill their duty, in addition to those which are derived from a regard to his glory and the

knowledge of his will. The minister who is made by Christ dependent on the church, if he works hard for the church, and loves them sincerely; if he watches for their welfare, builds them up by his experienced counsel and holy life, converts sinners to God, and is without covetousness, may be free from all anxiety about his income. His brethren are sure to be generous, liberal, affectionate. They will do more than they stipulated to do. They give with joy. They count him worthy of double honor (1 Tim. v. 17), and he feels year by year, in their proved kindness, new motives for devotedness to Christ and to them.

But in the Establishment all this is reversed. The rent-charge is as much the property of the incumbent as the rent is the property of the landlord; and the incumbent is no more indebted to his congregation for the one than the landlord is to his tenant for the other. By 6 and 7 Will. IV., they must pay or suffer distraint upon their goods. He owed them nothing for the possession of his living, perhaps they petitioned against his appointment, perhaps they are now reluctant to pay his dues; how can he feel gratitude to them for his income? His income, moreover, is not dependent upon his piety or virtue, his diligence, his zeal, or his usefulness; it is secured to him by law. It will be paid to him in full, however destitute he may be of all these. What inducement, then, of a secondary kind has he to cultivate them? The duties imposed by the State he must indeed fulfill. He must reside in the parish nine months of the year; he must abstain from gross and open immorality; he must read the Sunday services; he must read a sermon, which may be written by another man; he must read the baptismal service over every child brought to the font; he must read the marriage-service for all who lawfully require it, and must read the burial-service whenever a death occurs. When he has thus paid his debt to the State in return for his State salary, the law can ask no more; and he can resign himself to a life of almost total self-indulgence with complete impunity.

With such temptations to indolence, how can Anglican ministers generally be expected to be diligent? Let us

assume that they are like other men—with the average share of integrity and vigor, how can they work hard with this bed of down inviting them to repose? How many physicians, lawyers, military officers, or public functionaries, under these circumstances, would be laborious men? Not one in ten. And the clergy being, like the rest of the world, is there more than one rector out of ten who preaches, catechises, visits the sick, instructs from house to house the men, women, and children of his flock? Who works in his study and works among his people? Who works on the Sunday, and works through the week, with any thing like the hearty perseverance with which the physician and the lawyer work out a comfortable maintenance for their families? Let any one examine the pastoral superintendence in the ten parishes round his dwelling, and see.

When the pastor's income is paid by his church, should he grow careless and negligent, unsound in doctrine, or immoral in life, he would be at once removed from his office, because the people would withdraw from his ministry. But how can a bad Anglican minister be removed from his parish? His freehold is his castle. His legal income affords him impunity, within very wide limits, for ministerial transgression. He may be ignorant and idle, he may be a sportsman and a card-player, he may be gluttonous and fond of wine, he may be proud and quarrelsome, he may be a flatterer and a parasite, he may be a hater of good men, and even covertly vicious, and yet within the intrenchments of his freehold may bid defiance to the world's contempt and anger, as a feudal baron from the inaccessible heights of his castled rock hurled his defiance upon his beleaguering foes.

Even the natural wish which men have to secure the good opinion of their neighbors is checked by the Anglican system. Under the scriptural system, a feverish desire of change in ministers is repressed by the fact that the largest incomes being generally attached to the most arduous and responsible situations, those who are not fitted to fill them usually shrink from the task, and therefore contentedly cultivate the good-will of the people among whom they labor.

But the State provision reverses this salutary order of things. In the Establishment the richest livings may be held by men of small capacity, and of no zeal, as easily as by men of the highest attainments. And with this fact before them, multitudes of the Anglican pastors must have an eager wish to quit their parishes. There are in the Establishment 5230 curates, with an average professional income of £81 per annum. These are impelled by their subordinate position and scanty remuneration, to look out for livings. But the livings themselves are generally poor, so that 4882 incumbents have official incomes beneath £200, and 1979 more have less than £300. On these sums it is hard to maintain their families; and thus about 6861 incumbents, and 5230 curates, are eagerly looking out for any change which may improve their condition. Already severed from their people by education, by independence, by union with aristocratic patrons, they are still further severed from them by the hope of preferment. With the knowledge that there are 3433 livings varying in value from £300 to £1000 per annum, how earnestly must many of these 12,091 pastors desire to quit the congregations in connection with which they are so miserably poor! Incomes so large, without any additional labor or responsibility, to be obtained, not by merit, but by favor, must unsettle the minds of numbers, and most mischievously impair their zeal in behalf of churches whom they are endeavoring to desert. On the minds of some of these incumbents, who are men of rank, of learning or of talent, the more splendid emoluments which government have at their disposal must exercise a still more injurious influence, not only relaxing the ties which ought to bind the pastor to his church, but also poisoning their minds with a secular cupidity most unfavorable to spirituality or devotedness.

The result of this system is too apparent in the undisguised worldliness of many of the clergy, who, by their presence at the ball and the race-course, by their assiduity in hunting and shooting, by their ignorance of the Scriptures, and their ministerial incapacity, do much dishonor to the religion of which they are professedly ministers.

Let us next notice the influence exercised upon Anglican pastors by the supremacy of the State.

Scarcely any quality is more necessary to a pastor than sincerity. Men will bear much from those whom they know to be perfectly honest in their opinions. On the other hand, any measure of insincerity in a pastor is both fatal to his influence, and destructive to his reputation. "I am sure," says Bishop Wilberforce, "a more deadly blow could not be inflicted on our church than that a people, of whose character, thank God, sterling honesty is the distinctive feature, should have reason to suspect that their clergy believed one thing while they taught another."¹ To inflict this blow, it is not needful that the clergy should manifest insincerity in many things. "*He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much.*"² Habitual insincerity in any one thing shows a man to be destitute of sterling sincerity. A man of truth can not lie sometimes, any more than he can lie often.

St. Paul speaks much of this needful sincerity, and made much use of it in his appeals to the churches. Thus to the pastors of Ephesus he declared, "*Ye know how I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you . . . Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.*"³ To the Christians of Corinth he could make this profession: "*Our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world.*"⁴ . . . For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ."⁵ And with honest joy he reminded the Thessalonian Church of his sincerity in these terms: "*Our exhortation was not of deceit . . . nor in guile. For neither at any time used we flattering words,*

¹ Charge, Dec. 21, 1845, p. 15.

² Luke xvi. 10.

³ Acts xx. 20, 26, 27.

⁴ 2 Cor. i. 12.

⁵ 2 Cor. ii. 17.

as ye know, nor a cloke of covetousness; God is witness."¹

A pious pastor, superintending a free church, may use the same language. There is nothing to hinder him and them from investigating and obeying the whole will of Christ, whom alone, as head of his own house, they are bound to obey.² Every error in the church may be removed by mutual study of the word of God, and every practical evil be renounced. All truth lies open to their investigation, all duty invites them to accomplish it.

But the circumstances of a pious pastor in the Establishment are such as strongly tempt him to be insincere. While yet a youth, he was compelled at Oxford or Cambridge to express his belief in the thirty-nine articles, when neither his age nor his leisure allowed him maturely to examine them. When he reached the age of twenty-three, and was ordained, he was required to "subscribe, *ex animo*," the three following articles of the thirty-sixth canon: 1. "That the king's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm . . . as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal," &c. 2. "That the book of common prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, *containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God*," &c. 3. "That he acknowledgeth all and every the articles . . . being in number thirty-and-nine . . . *to be agreeable to the word of God*." He was thus pledged to allow the State supremacy, and to maintain that the whole prayer-book and the thirty-nine articles are throughout agreeable to the word of God. Further, when he was instituted to his living, he made the following declaration: "I do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled the book of common prayer," &c. Lastly, though he has not subscribed to the canons, he is bound by their doctrines, and the ecclesiastical judge may punish him for any violation of them. By the second canon, if he impeach any part of the king's supremacy, he is excommunicated *ipso facto*. By the

¹ 1 Thess. ii. 3, 5.

² Heb. iii. 6; Acts v. 29.

fourth canon, if he affirm that the form of worship in the Church of England "containeth in it any thing repugnant to Scripture," he is excommunicated. By the fifth canon, if he assert that the thirty-nine articles "are in any part superstitious or erroneous," he is excommunicated. By the eighth canon, if he affirm "that the form and manner of making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the word of God," he is excommunicated. And by the tenth canon, if he affirm that dissenters and their ministers are Christian churches, he may be excommunicated. Lastly, by 13 Elizabeth, cap. 12, "If he shall affirm any doctrine contrary to any of the thirty-nine articles, he shall be deprived of his ecclesiastical promotions;"¹ or if he "speak or preach any thing in derogation of the book of common prayer," he may be deprived.² Excommunication hinders a person from making a will, or suing in an action, real or personal; and exposes him to be arrested and imprisoned by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* directed to the sheriff, granted out of the court of Chancery.³

Thus each Anglican pastor has been deeply pledged to the whole State Church system while he was yet a novice, and incapable of maturely examining it. His worldly interests have by degrees become deeply involved in it. If he zealously maintain every tittle of it, a living, a prebendal stall, a deanery, a bishopric, a peerage, a palace, and 5000*l.* a year, may reward his advocacy. If he question the truth of any of its doctrines, or in the least impugn the supremacy, or any part of the prayer-book, or any one of the articles, he must look for frowns, not favor; and may think himself happy if, like Mr. Head, he is only suspended for three years from his ministry, and deprived for that period of his income, with the prospect of restoration upon renouncing his dissentient opinions.⁴

Let us now consider some of those things in the prayer-book and in the thirty-nine articles which each Anglican

¹ Burn, i. 105.

² *Ib.* ii. 141.

³ *Ib.* pp. 248, 250.

⁴ The offense of Mr. Head was his condemnation of several expressions in the baptismal service.

pastor declares to be agreeable to the word of God. First, the baptismal service states that God, by the baptism of Jesus in the river Jordan, did sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin ; it then prays for the infant, that he, coming to baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration. It then proceeds thus : " Dearly beloved, ye have brought this child here to be baptized. Ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to receive him, to release him of his sins, to sanctify him with the Holy Ghost, to give him the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting life. Ye have heard also that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised in his Gospel to grant all these things that ye have prayed for : which promise he for his part will most surely keep and perform." So that, according to this service, Christ has promised to save all the children of every parish in England, if their sponsors make these prayers at the time of baptism ! Then the service adds this prayer to the Almighty : " Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin." The child is then baptized ; after which the priest says : " Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate let us give thanks," &c., and then proceeds thus : " We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church." All this the prayer-book says of each child in every parish who is baptized, however ungodly the sponsors and parents of the child may be ! And Anglican pastors declare this to be agreeable to the word of God !

At the close of the baptismal service the sponsors are instructed thus : " Ye are to take care that this child be brought to the bishop, to be confirmed by him so soon as he can say the Creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, in the vulgar tongue, and be further instructed in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose."

In this catechism each child in the parish is taught to say in answer to the question, " Who gave you this name ?" " My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism ; wherein

I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." Having thus learned from the catechism that they were regenerated at baptism, these children are now brought to confirmation, at which the prayer-book directs the bishop to say, "Almighty and ever-living God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins, strengthen them, we beseech thee," &c. They are then admissible to the Lord's table: and the prayer-book adds to the communion-service this notice, "NOTE—That *every parishioner* shall communicate three times in the year, of which Easter to be one." When a parishioner is sick, the prayer-book directs that the priest, after confession, "shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after this sort: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, *who hath left power to his church to absolve* all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offenses: and by his authority committed to me, *I absolve thee from all thy sins,*'" &c. At length each parishioner dies: the irreligious, the worldly, the profane, and the vicious, are summoned to receive their awful doom as impenitent enemies of Christ, and their bodies being brought to the churchyard, the prayer-book says of each: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we, therefore, commit his body to the ground." After which the priest is forced to proceed thus: "We give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world." All this the Anglican pastor declares to be agreeable to the word of God! When deacons come to the bishop to be ordained priests, they are forced to kneel down before him, and he then, placing his hands upon their heads, says to each, including all the worldly and the Anglo-Catholic among them, "*Receive the Holy Ghost* for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands. *Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are*

retained." At the consecration of a bishop the archbishop uses similar words: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands. . . . And remember that thou stir up *the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands.*" Upon which Bishop Wilberforce remarks, "All this is the most blasphemous frivolity, if it be not the deepest truth." In the presence of all these statements of the prayer-book, each Anglican pastor declares that "it containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God!"

Respecting all these statements at ordination and consecration, which are much nearer to "blasphemous frivolity" than to "deepest truth," each clergyman is obliged to maintain as follows: Article thirty-six—"The book of consecration of archbishops and bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons . . . doth contain all things necessary . . . *neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly.*" All the nominees of ministers of State in succession thus assume to give the Holy Spirit to all sorts of young men who come for ordination; and clergymen must profess this to be "neither superstitious nor ungodly!"

Besides thus binding the pastor to express his assent to all the statements of the prayer-book and the ordination services, the State supremacy likewise compels him to assent to the thirty-nine articles. The twentieth article declares, "The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, *and authority in controversies of faith.*" The twenty-sixth article declares, "Although in the visible church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and *do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry* both in hearing the word of God, and in receiving of the sacraments."¹ The thirty-sixth article declares that the book

¹ See Matt. vii. 15-23; John x. 5; 2 Cor. xi. 3, 12-15; Gal. i. 6-9; v. 12; 1 Tim. iii. 2-7; 2 Tim. ii. 2; Tit. i. 5-8; 2 Joh. 10, 11; 1 Cor. v. 11-13.

of consecration of bishops, and of ordering of priests, hath not "any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly." These three articles each Anglican pastor declares to be "agreeable to the word of God! See canon thirty-six.

The State further compels the Anglican pastor habitually to perform the following ecclesiastical acts. By the sixty-eighth canon he is compelled to baptize all the children of the parish who are brought to him. By the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and fifty-seventh canons, he is forbidden to admit to the Lord's table any who will not receive it kneeling, any "notorious depravers of the prayer-book," and any strangers from neighboring parishes.

By 1 Edward VI. cap. 1, he "shall not without lawful cause deny the same to any person that will devoutly and humbly desire it." So that he is obliged to receive to the Lord's table all against whom he can not legally prove some legal ecclesiastical offense, that is, nine-tenths of all the most worldly persons in the parish. By the sixty-eighth canon, he must bury all who die without excommunication, that is, nearly all the ungodly persons of the parish; and by the Act of Uniformity must read over each, "It hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed." When any pastor finds out the error of the prayer-book, or the unscriptural character of the duties imposed upon him, he may withdraw from the Establishment; but by that step he would necessarily expose himself and his family to great suffering. According to the maxim of the ecclesiastical law, "Once a priest, always a priest." He may be prosecuted in the court of Arches for officiating in any diocese without the license of the bishop even after he has seceded—as Mr. Shore has recently been under these circumstances prosecuted by the Bishop of Exeter. But if he be spared this persecution, it is only to be esteemed by many of his former friends a schismatic, to be shunned as an apostate, to become a by-word and a proverb, to lose his position in society, to be reduced to penury, to be without employment and without prospects.

Few men have the courage to plunge into such an abyss

of trouble, *and therefore they must adjust their belief to their circumstances as best they may.* To expose the errors of the prayer-book, or to renounce unscriptural practices, is out of the question. In either case, a minister would be at once suspended or deprived. What must he then do? First, he may make desperate efforts, by exclusively reading on one side, and, by living solely with ardent conformists, to persuade himself that all the statements of the prayer-book are true, and all the requirements of the State are scriptural. Should this effort fail, and should the errors of the prayer-book force themselves upon him, his next attempt must be to conceal his dissentient opinions by absolute silence on the subject. But this is a fearful course for a minister of Christ. Was he not placed by Christ in the church as a witness for the truth? Is not concealment of the truth at once an infidelity to Christ and a wrong to the world? His silence prevents the overthrow of error, and confirms others in mischievous delusion. Besides, in his circumstances concealment is falsehood; for he has subscribed to the truth of the prayer-book, and only on that condition is he allowed to retain his living: so that the effect of his silence is to induce the people, the clergy, and the bishop, all to think that he maintains the prayer-book to be wholly consonant to Scripture. Silence, too, is almost impossible. Occasions must arise when to say nothing would be equivalent to an avowal of dissent from the prayer-book; and in such an emergency he would be strongly tempted to defend himself from the suspicions of zealous conformists by professions not entirely sincere. To avoid this pain, however, there is another course which the pious Anglican pastor may take. He may exaggerate the importance of the union, extol "the Church" as the purest and best in the world, persuade himself that it is the chief bulwark of Protestantism; he may fill up his time and thoughts with the duties of his ministry, and may resolve not to read, speak, or think on those disputed topics. Thus he may strive to hide out the errors of the prayer-book, and avoid every conclusion respecting the legal fetters of his ministry, shielding himself under the thought that many

excellent men do all that he is called to do; and that matters so trifling ought not to endanger an institution so venerable and so necessary.

Symptoms of this state of mind are, I think, common.

Among pious Anglican pastors it is common to hear strong and even violent denunciation of popery, which requires no courage, because the thunderer launches his bolts against a despised minority, and is echoed by admiring multitudes. But the ten thousand practical abuses within the Establishment wake no such indignant thunders—the nomination of worldly prelates—the exclusion of the Gospel from thousands of parishes in which by the union ungodly ministers have the monopoly of spiritual instruction—the easy introduction of irreligious youths into the ministry—the awful desecration of baptism, especially in large civic parishes—the more awful fact, that thirteen thousand Anglican pastors leave some millions of the poor out of a population of only sixteen millions utterly untaught—the hateful bigotry of the canons, which excommunicate all who recognize any other churches of Christ in England except our own—the complete fusion of the church and the world at the Lord's table—the obligation upon every parish minister publicly to thank God for taking to himself the soul of every wicked person in the parish who dies without being excommunicated—the almost total neglect of scriptural church discipline—the tyranny of the license system—the sporting, dancing, and card-playing of many clergymen—the government orders to the churches of Christ to preach on what topics, and to pray in what terms, the State prescribes—the loud and frequent denunciation of our brethren of other denominations as schismatics—the errors of the articles and of the prayer-book, and the invasion of the regal prerogatives of Christ by the State supremacy—the total absence of self-government, and therefore of all self-reformation, in the Establishment, &c., &c., &c.: all these enormous evils are tolerated and concealed. Dissenters are often and eagerly attacked because comparatively weak; but scarcely a tongue condemns the tyranny of the State toward the Anglican Churches, because the

State is strong and holds the purse. Some eagerly search into the future, compel unfulfilled prophecy to reveal to them the fate of distant generations; but majestic and momentous events passing before our eyes are overlooked. They keenly discuss what Jerusalem is to be in the millennium, but do not ask what Scotland and the Canton de Vaud are now. There is not a corner or nook of prophetic Scripture which they do not explore, but they know little of what the same Scripture declares of the constitution and discipline of Christian churches. Books and pamphlets without end solicit attention to the millennium, but scarcely a whisper suggests how existing churches are to be purified and revived. The evils without the churches are delineated with vehement fidelity, but the evils within nestle undisturbed. Almost all reading and reflection on the subject of churches and Establishments appear to be, with many, on one side. Mr. M'Neile's "Lectures on the Church," and even Mr. Gladstone's less popular treatises, are read extensively; but Wardlaw, Ballantyne, Conder, Gasparin, Vinet, Baird, with greater power, are unread and unknown. Nay, such is the terror generated by the system, that some seem afraid to do right till others do it. When any effort of Christian benevolence is proposed—as the London City Mission, for example—the first questions which seem to arise to such are not whether it is right, scriptural, and useful, but questions of the following kind: What do the other clergy think of it? What does the bishop say? Does the project violate any canon? Is it agreeable to ecclesiastical law? How will it affect "the church?" Can I do it safely?

All this is very unfavorable to the formation of a free, earnest, sincere character, eager to find truth, and ready to maintain it; yet this is essential to the efficiency of Christian ministers.

By their silence on many important subjects which claim a decision, and by their exclusive reading on one side, when no fair judgment can be formed but by a full investigation of both sides, many seem to be afraid that their ecclesiastical opinions will not bear examination. But to maintain

without inquiry opinions which inquiry might reverse, is to be insincere. Here let me recall the words of Bishop Wilberforce : " I am sure that a more deadly blow could not be inflicted on our church, than that a people of whose character, thank God, sterling honesty is the distinctive feature, should have reason to suspect that their clergy believed one thing while they taught another." If this be true, how much of the impotence of our pulpits, of the irreligion of society, and of the alienation of the masses from the clergy, may be traced to this cause, that many are not believed to be sincere !

Further ; let us consider the influence of patronage. According to the will of Christ, as declared by the practice of the churches which were under the guidance of apostles, the pastors were chosen by the churches. Congregational churches still follow the apostolic precedents ; and the effect is excellent. A pastor chosen by the church must generally be suited to it in all respects. When thus freely chosen, he is likely to be esteemed and valued by those who, in respecting him, justify their own choice. There may be a minority displeased with the election, but they know that the voices of the majority ought in equity to prevail, and have had no personal collision with the pastor. They may, therefore, soon be won by him, if he be an effective minister ; and, in fact, earnest and affectionate, intelligent and faithful men are usually much loved and esteemed by the best and most influential members of their churches.

But the Anglican pastor is chosen without the concurrence of the church, and often against its declared wishes, by the legal patron. The following is the distribution of patronage in this country. The Crown presents to 952 benefices, archbishops and bishops to 1248, ecclesiastical corporations to 787, dignitaries to 1851, colleges to 721, and private patrons to 5096.¹ In the nomination to these benefices the people are not consulted, the qualifications required by law in the pastors are extremely small, the proofs of incapacity and of irreligion in the candidate must

¹ M'Culloch's "Statistics."

be very evident ; and if the bishop refuses a presentee without legal grounds, the presentee has his remedy by a *duplex querela* in the ecclesiastical court, and the patron may enforce his right by a *quare impedit* at common law.¹ The effect of this state of the law is, that scarcely any presentee is rejected ; children may be brought up with a certainty that they shall have a family living, and advowsons are a valuable marketable property. The effect of the veto granted by a law of the General Assembly to the churches of Scotland was, till it was reversed by the law of the State, most remarkable. It led serious young men to study for the ministry, while it deterred all others ; and secured evangelical pastors in numbers for the Scotch parishes. The unrestricted patronage of England, on the contrary, secures a constant supply of worldly pastors. Comparatively few among the great and rich become the disciples of Christ, his doctrine being too humbling, and his yoke too strict. “ *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.*” The rich and noble patrons, therefore, who have 5096 livings at their disposal, are likely to bestow the largest number of them on men who are, like themselves, unconverted. College livings are given without any reference to pastoral qualifications. Any man, however ungodly in his habits, who becomes a good scholar, may obtain a fellowship at Oxford or Cambridge ; by the thirty-third canon a fellowship is a title for ordination, and when obtained, a fellow obtains a college living in his turn as a matter of right, so that collegiate patronage of 721 livings must materially swell the body of ungodly pastors in the Anglican churches. We have no reason to suppose that the leaders of the great political parties in the State will generally be such men as appreciate spiritual religion. Mr. Pitt and Lord Liverpool, who have been among the most estimable prime-ministers, were avowedly opposed to evangelical views. And the able lawyers, whom party considerations have advanced to the office of lord chancellor, have not always been distinguished by religious earnest-

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 156.

ness. The Crown patronage, therefore, of 952 livings necessarily forms another large body of worldly and unconverted pastors. Lastly, when the prime-minister and his colleagues in office are worldly men, and from political considerations select worldly men as bishops, the patronage of these worldly bishops must still increase the number of unconverted pastors placed over the churches of Christ in this land. In estimating the tendency of patronage, we must not overlook the strong inducement which patrons of all classes have to provide for their own relations. 9581 benefices, excluding 952 in the patronage of the Crown, are at the disposal of patrons who have children, brothers, and cousins, to provide for. Varying in value from 50*l.* to 1000*l.* per annum, these offer prizes to young men of every rank in life; and is it conceivable, in the actual state of competition for employment, and the extreme difficulty with which parents, especially of the upper classes, can obtain a provision for their children, that patrons should not give their family livings to multitudes of young men, with slender abilities, poor health, and no spirituality? We must also observe, that it is easier for a clergyman to educate his sons for the clerical office than for any other profession. They can generally superintend themselves the first stages of a classical education. Classical schools abound; and as the lawyer is found to educate his sons for the law, and the officer for the army and navy, so clergymen are found to educate their sons for their own profession. Thus young men of decent habits, but without piety, are urged and almost forced by their circumstances into a profession which of themselves they never would have chosen. On the whole, it is too obvious to all who inquire into this subject, that the English clergy, as a body, are not directed to the ministry by their peculiar fitness for it, but by the circumstances which render that step convenient. That body is not composed of able and pious men, drawn in proportionate numbers from all classes of the country in mature life and after much Christian experience (1 Tim. iii. 6); but of young men, who have from their earliest years been destined by their parents to belong

to it, just as in Roman Catholic countries the younger children of the nobility are destined for the monastery and the convent, because it is convenient. The children of patrons and of rich capitalists, of bishops and of clergymen, recruit the ranks of the clergy, not so much because they have given themselves up to the service of Christ and of their fellow-creatures, as because they have not ability for law or medicine, nor spirit enough for the army or navy, nor capital enough for commerce, nor income enough to lead an idle life. Thus the ministry in the Establishment is permanently corrupted ; and it would be against all the known principles of our nature, and in defiance of universal experience, to expect under such circumstances that the clergy can be ever generally evangelical and earnest men.

While absolute patronage thus introduces numbers of unfit men into the ministry, it excludes from it many who would be its brightest ornaments. Were the churches to decide upon the choice of their pastors, ability, integrity, and earnestness, would secure to each young minister a post of usefulness and comfort ; but since the greatest number of benefices in the land are inaccessible to any young man who has no other influence than that of character, all the avenues to them being thronged by needy claimants, who are sons, brothers, and cousins of patrons, able and pious young men are necessarily led to seek employment of another kind ; and thus while the State secures a perpetual supply of unconverted and incompetent pastors, it excludes from the pastoral office many who might act most powerfully on the religion of the nation.

God has called his ministers in this country to an honorable but arduous work. It is their mission to maintain the doctrine of the Gospel in its purity, to elevate the piety of the churches, to direct their energies, and call Christians of all classes to combined and powerful action in the service of the Redeemer. They have to defend, in this day of mental activity and fearless research, the inspiration of the Scriptures, the truth of Christianity, and even the being of God ; not only must they invade the carelessness of the fashionable classes, and bring down the towering

pride of nobles, who scorn to hear that they are perishing sinners, who, without humble faith in Christ, must lie under the wrath of God forever, but they have to address the judgment and the conscience of men of literature and science, lawyers, physicians, engineers, and editors—Goliaths who scorn those that can not grapple with them with a giant energy like their own, and who are not to be reduced to discipleship by any child's play. They have to recover to Christ Chartists and Socialists, whose hatred of religion is embittered by their detestation of the political institutions with which it is allied. Mechanics and operatives—whose rude energy is no more to be drilled by authority, and who never again will be the tame human herds which in other days the pretenders to apostolical descent could drive to what theological pastures they pleased—now claim a brotherly, frank, and respectful attention; while the thronging myriads, who, in the cities and manufacturing districts of the kingdom, are totally disconnected with the churches of Christ, can not be brought to listen to the Gospel without much self-denying assiduity.

Never were such varied attainments needed in pastors and evangelists, because the world was never so well-informed, independent, and fearless. Sound criticism of Scripture, extensive knowledge of men and things, authorship, preaching, and pastoral activity, are all requisite to them, if they are not to be despised as the stupid bonzes of Foh-kien. Antiquated claims to an apostolic authority, transmitted by descent, are now treated with merited contempt as absurd, if they are not repelled with indignation as a barefaced imposture. Henceforth, mind, heart, and character, are the only titles to consideration, as our Lord has prescribed. Pastors, therefore, must be, above all, experienced Christians, with much faith, hope, and love, who pray in the Holy Ghost, and therefore obtain what they pray for. Laborious students, they must yet be rather men of the world than men of the cloister; of the cottage and the work-shop rather than of the drawing-room; not butterflies who have fluttered through a sunny

day over a paradise of roses, but soldiers, who in the storm and strife of duty have learned hardihood ; not aristocrats, not plebeians, but men who, taken from all ranks, belong to all, and sympathize with all ; a class who by their knowledge and wisdom, their virtue and their zeal, have risen to an intellectual and moral nobility ; the successors of Luther and Calvin, of Bunyan and Baxter, of Whitefield and Wesley, of Scott and Martyn, the *élite* of the nation for piety and force.

But what are the pastors of the Anglican Churches in fact ? I grieve to write it. There are men among them of great virtues to whom I gladly do homage. I know and love many faithful, energetic, and sincere servants of Christ ; but when these exceptions are subtracted, what are the rest ? I grieve to write it. Chosen by peers and squires, by colleges and church-corporations, by chancellors and State-made prelates, many are made pastors by a corrupt favoritism, many are allured to an uncongenial employment by the income which it offers them, and many embrace the profession of a pastor because they are too dull, inert, or timid, for any other. They have scarcely any theological training, they are pledged to all the errors in the prayer-book, and all the abuses sanctioned by the union. They dread reforms, they are servile to patrons, they are intolerant to dissenters : their zeal is crippled by State restrictions, and their indolence tempted by unbounded liberty to indulge it. Severed from the body of the people by their birth, by their early education, by their college life, by their aristocratical association, by their zeal for their ecclesiastical prerogatives, they have little popular influence. Lawyers, men of science, and editors of newspapers, do not listen to them ; Chartists and Socialists dislike and despise them ; they scarcely touch the operative millions ; they make few converts among the devotees of fashion ; and under their leadership the Christian army is inert, timid, and unsuccessful.

But whenever the union between the Church and State shall cease, patronage and State restrictions will cease with it ; the churches will recover their right of

self-government and the nomination of their pastors; and the pastors having no preferment to expect from the barons of the land, would identify themselves with their flocks, and being contented, energetic, and affectionate, would become on those accounts influential. May God, in his mercy, after terminating this unhallowed union, raise up to his free churches such pastors as may surround themselves with energetic disciples of Christ; and through their combined efforts may many among the literary, fashionable, and laborious classes, now alienated from the Redeemer, be led to serve him with affectionate and devoted zeal.

SECTION III.—*Effects of the Union upon Curates.*

Let us next examine the effect of the union upon the 5230 curates of the Establishment. Were patronage at an end, ministers being dependent on the approval of the churches, each able and pious young man would obtain a pastoral charge; while the frivolous, the weak, and the ungodly, would be rejected by the congregations. Hence, unfit men would be deterred from seeking ordination. Such was the effect of the veto law in Scotland, which, leaving to ill-instructed and ungodly youths no hope of employment, and rendering employment almost certain to young men of sense, energy, and Christian principle, exceedingly improved the class of candidates for the ministry in that part of the kingdom. But our system attracts to the ministry the incapable and the indolent, while it repels many who are able and energetic. Patronage rules every thing. Paper checks, in the shape of subscriptions to articles and canons, can exert very little influence on unscrupulous young men, who have the promise of livings; the required testimonials are easily obtained by any man not openly immoral, and thus almost all who have livings ready for them can, in fact, make their way to the expected preferment through all the needful preliminaries. The result is, that the churches have pastors forced upon them by the patrons from these five classes:—1. College fellows; 2. Political adherents of the government; 3. Sons of pa-

trons ; 4. Sons of wealthy men, who pay for situations for them ; and 5. Sons of clergymen, who find it easier to educate their sons for "the church" than for any other profession. None of these classes are sent into the ministry because of their zeal and capacity, but because there are livings ready for them, or it is otherwise convenient : and thus the Establishment is injured by the admission of many pastors utterly unsuited to their sacred calling.

It might seem at first sight that the churches are protected from the intrusion of unfit men into the pastoral office by the discretionary power of ordination allowed to the bishop by law. On this point Burn thus writes :— " Since it is said to be discretionary in the bishop whom he will admit to the order of priest or deacon, and that he is not obliged to give any reason for his refusal, this implieth that he may insist upon what previous terms of qualification he shall think proper, *consistent with law and right.*" But these last words seem to intimate that the friends of a young man, to whom a family living has been promised, would have a legal remedy should the bishop refuse to ordain him without assigning some legal cause. In point of fact, I believe that pious bishops ordain young men who have given no proof of piety ; and bishops, who in their charges condemn Anglo-Catholicism, have been said to ordain young men who do not conceal their Anglo-Catholic views. The discretionary right of ordination, thus modified, leaves to the bishop little power to exclude unfit men of rank and of good prospects, but is only exercised now and then toward some unpatronized candidate, whose views may be thought by him to be too Calvinistic or too liberal.

Let us now see upon what terms a young man obtains ordination. By canon thirty-six he must first subscribe to the three following articles :—

1. " That the queen's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm . . . as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal," &c.

2. " That the book of common prayer and of ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God," &c.

3. "That he acknowledgeth all and every the articles" (contained in the book of articles), "being in number nine-and-thirty . . . to be agreeable to the word of God."

Then, by the Act of Uniformity, 14 Charles II., every preacher must "openly and publicly declare his unfeigned assent and consent unto and approbation of the said (prayer) book, and to the use of all the prayers," &c., in the following terms:—"I, A. B., do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled the book of common prayer," &c. Thus, while yet a youth, he is solemnly pledged to maintain positions which will not bear examination, and from which any examination would probably force him to dissent.

At the same time he comes under an iron power, which sternly forbids the smallest approach to independent thought. Christ has said to his disciples, "*Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature*;" and the ministers of Christ are charged to "*preach the word, and be instant in season and out of season*:" but the State allows no minister to preach without a license from the bishop. By canon thirty-six, "No person shall be suffered to preach in any parish church or chapel, or in any other place within this realm, except he be licensed either by the archbishop or by the bishop of the diocese." By 13 and 14 Charles II., "No person shall be received or allowed to preach as lecturer, unless he be first approved and thereunto licensed by the archbishop of the province or by the bishop of the diocese." And by the Act of Uniformity, "No person shall be suffered to preach in any church, chapel, or other place of public worship, unless he be first approved and thereunto licensed by the archbishop of the province or the bishop of the diocese."

This license the bishop can give or withhold at his discretion. The Bishop of London refused to license the Rev. Richard Povah to the lectureship at the church of St. Bartholomew, alleging "that he can not consistently with his duty as Bishop of London, approve of him as a fit person for such a lectureship." Upon which Lord Ellenbor-

ough said, "There is no instance of an application for a mandamus to compel a bishop to approve, we can only compel him to inquire."¹

By this arbitrary power the bishop can exclude a sound, learned, and faithful man from his diocese without alleging any reason: the knowledge of which power must tend to make all the young men who wish to obtain curacies within the diocese conform to all his errors and prejudices.

Their independence is further destroyed by the power which the bishop has of revoking his license. The case of *Hodgson v. Dillon* decided that the bishop may absolutely and discretionally withdraw a license to officiate in an unconsecrated chapel; and in the course of his judgment Dr. Lushington said, "No clergyman whatever of the Church of England has any right to officiate in any diocese in any way whatever as a clergyman of the Church of England, unless he has a lawful authority so to do; and he can only have that authority when he receives it at the hands of a bishop, which may be conferred on him by license when the clergyman officiates as stipendiary curate." "The bishop may revoke such license whenever he thinks fit, according to a discretion not examinable by the ecclesiastical judge."² According to which statement, it is the settled doctrine of the ecclesiastical law, that "the ordinary may, at his discretion, displace the curate by withdrawing his license without formal process of law."³ Which is, indeed, confirmed by statute, for, by 1 and 2 Vict. cap. 106, the bishop may summarily revoke his license.⁴

This state of the law places 5230 curates entirely at the mercy of the bishops. If a curate is too evangelical or too friendly toward pious dissenters, or denies the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, or blames the canons, or offends the great by his faithful preaching, he may be as blameless as Daniel and as devoted as Paul, but the bishop may revoke his license without assigning any reason, and may expel him altogether from his diocese. The worst felon in her majesty's dominions can not be condemned without trial before a jury; but a minister of Christ, of

¹ Burn, i. 36. ² Ib. p. 306^b. ³ Ib. ii. 74. ⁴ Ib. p. 75.

the highest qualifications, the greatest capacity, and the most devoted zeal, may be driven from his flock, deprived of his income, and sent forth an exile from the diocese, without any trial—nay, without any reason, except the autocratic fiat of the ordinary. And this has been re-enacted within the present reign !

It may occur to the reader that such a curate would, in reality, suffer no great hardship, since he would instantly be welcomed by other bishops. But the forty-eighth canon enacts as follows : “ Curates and ministers, if they remove from one diocese to another, shall not, by any means, be admitted to serve without testimony of the bishop of the diocese whence they came, in writing, of their honesty, ability, and conformity to the ecclesiastical laws of the Church of England.” When, therefore, a bishop revokes his license, and drives a curate from his diocese, as he will not countersign any testimonies in his favor, and without his testimony no other bishop can canonically receive the curate, the arbitrary act which expels the curate from one diocese drives him, in reality, from all, and sentences him to dissent or starvation. Should he venture to preach without a license, he would be liable to excommunication ; whereupon, after forty days, a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* may issue against him out of Chancery, and, being imprisoned, he may have to endure all the consequences which the State has attached to episcopal fulminations. It is not clear that he can with impunity seek a provision for his family even as a layman, for, by the seventy-sixth canon, “ No man being admitted a deacon or minister shall from henceforth voluntarily relinquish the same, nor afterward use himself in the course of his life as a layman, upon pain of excommunication.” Excommunication meets him whether he exercise his ministry or renounce it, and he must either satisfy the bishop or starve.

Thus, on the one hand, if a curate conforms himself in every respect to the will of a bishop, zealously upholds the supremacy, maintains the unerring wisdom of the prayer-book, the immaculate truth of each of the thirty-nine articles, and the authority of the canons, then peace and

plenty are before him : nay, possibly he may himself climb to the pinnacles of ecclesiastical greatness, to a peerage and a palace ; but if he maintains the authority of Christ against the spiritual authority of the State, examines with hearty allegiance the truth, the doctrines, and the discipline of the Establishment ; if he condemns the authority of the canons, and in any way comes into collision with the prejudices and the passions of the diocesan, then he is at the mercy of an irresponsible autocracy, which may at any moment ruin his prospects and blight his fame. Such circumstances interdict, if I mistake not, to the curates of England all fearless, generous, and independent search after truth.

I have noticed before the influence of a complicated system of ecclesiastical law, and of unrestricted patronage in the same direction.

There is, further, a very disagreeable addition likely to be made to the character of a young curate by the circumstances of his condition. Deterred by consequences so tremendous from questioning any doctrine of the prayer-book, he must defend the formula of his ordination to the priesthood. "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest. . . . Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven ; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." By these words he is tempted to believe that he has received the Holy Ghost by the imposition of the bishop's hands. Then he is called to ponder the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth canons, which condemn as schismatics all dissenting congregations, and excommunicate those who own them to be churches of Christ ; he reflects, also, that he is the legal pastor of the parish exclusively patronized by the State ; and when to this is added his exclusive training at an exclusive school and in an exclusive college, with exclusive reading and exclusive friendships, and the constant recurrence of exclusive charges of bishops and archdeacons, it is to be expected that each young curate will imbibe Anglo-Catholic inflation. More especially if he has been thrust upon his parish in order to secure the family living ; without talent, knowledge, or piety, he is almost sure to protect himself against his non-conformist

rival by lofty pretensions; boldly and blindly denounce dissent as schism, and thus unite with his timid servility to the great, an arrogant exclusiveness toward the disciples and ministers of Christ.

SECTION IV.—*Influence of the Union upon Members of Anglican Churches.*

It is the will of Christ, as manifested in the New Testament, that each church should select its own pastors, with careful regard to the pastoral qualifications which are required by him;¹ but the Anglican Churches allow strangers to choose their pastors for them. A church is bound to receive none but a pious pastor to rule over it;² but the Anglican Churches receive multitudes of unconverted pastors, because the State has given to patrons the right to nominate them. To be without the services of a faithful and active pastor is a great evil to any church; but it is a much greater evil to be placed under the guidance of an unsound and ungodly one. For if an ungodly pastor is loved and followed by a church, he leads them with himself to destruction; if they despise and hate him, they, probably, learn to despise and hate the religion itself of which he is the unworthy representative; and if they are indifferent to him and his teaching, they often sink into complete religious ignorance and insensibility. Sometimes a church has thus assented to a succession of ungodly pastors, generation after generation, so that no Gospel light has ever broken in upon the irreligion of the village; and the whole population has crept obscurely to the grave in total ignorance of the way of salvation. Sometimes a church, more culpable still, after having had a faithful pastor, receives from the legal patron, with slothful acquiescence, some ungodly nominee, who comes to contradict what his predecessor taught, and to neutralize the effects of a faithful ministry. If the Anglican Churches have

¹ Acts i. 15, 23–26; vi. 3; xiv. 23.

² Matt. vii. 15–23; John x. 4, 5; 2 Cor. xi. 3, 12–15; Gal. i. 6–9; 1 Tim. iii. 1–7; Tit. i. 5–9; 2 John 8–10.

been led thus to disregard the law of Christ and their spiritual interests from a penurious desire to escape the burden of maintaining their pastors by securing the State salaries, this reason only adds to their guilt. Christ's law is this: "*Let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things. . . . Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine. For the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn; . . . and, The laborer is worthy of his reward.*"¹ When, therefore, the churches, in order to evade this duty, lay the burden upon the State, they must injure themselves by their neglect. No disregard of duty can be harmless; and every Christian in the Establishment, by consenting to make the State support his pastor, instead of doing it himself, is doing mischief to his own Christian character.

Further; as the churches have relinquished their own right of nominating their pastors, they have likewise neglected to maintain Christ's rights over them. The church of real believers is the house of Christ, over which he alone has the right to rule, according to the following statement of St. Paul: "*Moses verily was faithful in all his house, as a servant, for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after; but Christ as a son over his own house; WHOSE HOUSE ARE WE, if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end.*"² But the Anglican Churches have allowed the State to usurp his authority. A stranger rules over his house. Laws are passed by worldly politicians to direct his churches with their consent. The church, as the bride of Christ, ought jealously to maintain his dominion; but it has consented to an adulterous alliance with the State, not from affection, but for money; and the State pays the money solely to keep the church in subjection. By this faithless consent to transfer to the State the authority of Christ, the churches necessarily submit to a disgraceful neg-

¹ Gal. vi. 6; 1 Tim. v. 17, 18; 1 Cor. ix. 11-14.

² Heb. iii. 5; x. 21; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Matt. xxiv. 45.

lect or desecration of the ordinances of their Lord. Pastors and people having resigned to the stranger the control over their discipline, ecclesiastical courts erected under the authority of the State, but unknown to the New Testament, determine their whole internal administration. Christ has appointed that those only who repent and believe shall be baptized;¹ and the churches, under the dictation of the State, allow all the children of all parishes to be baptized, though neither children nor parents have any faith or piety. He has appointed that none but his true disciples should receive the Lord's Supper in commemoration of his love, and in testimony of their allegiance;² but the churches, under the dictation of the State, admit all who can not legally be proved to be heretical or immoral to receive it, although they may openly oppose evangelical doctrine, be devoted to worldly pleasures, have no family religion, be of a fierce, schismatical spirit, and exhibit no marks whatever of piety in their lives. The church and the world are completely fused at the table of the Lord. The theaters, the ball-rooms, and the race-courses, may pour their whole contents into the assemblies of communicants, and be welcomed by the churches as "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven." If any ungodly person "creeps into the church unawares" (Jude 4), such a person ought to be put out. From all fellowship with such the churches are ordered to withdraw; there must be no communion of light with darkness, no concord between Christ and Belial, no familiar association between Christians and the devotees of pleasure;³ but in Anglican Churches these laws are disregarded. Believers are yoked together with unbelievers; the righteous with the unrighteous; the worshipers of Christ with the worshipers of Belial, in all their church acts. Men of a schismatical spirit, who cast out their brethren, fierce successors of Diotrephes, violating the law of charity with shameless party zeal,

¹ Mark xvi. 16; Acts ii. 38; viii. 37; x. 47.

² 1 Cor. xi. 27-29; v. 11, 13; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.

³ 2 Cor. vi. 14-18; Rom. xvi. 17; John xv. 19; Gal. v. 12; Rev. ii. 14, 15.

kneel side by side with Christ's disciples at the altar, from which the most estimable and faithful brethren of dissenting churches are rudely excluded. The covetous, the railer, and even those who are generally thought to be fornicators and drunkards, may take their place at the Lord's table as easily as in their pew : and Anglican Christians consent to all this ! Pastors who are ignorant and even irreligious, remain under the sanction of the law to misrepresent the Gospel, and mislead the congregation : and Anglican Christians support them !

It was characteristic of the early churches, that they held forth the word of life to the ignorant, shining as lights in the world ;¹ from them sounded out the word of the Lord ;² their faith was spoken of among the heathen ;³ and they were epistles of Christ, known and read of all men.⁴ But Christians in the Anglican Churches, satisfied if they can secure their own salvation, do little for others. Enlightened congregations allow parishes around them, in which the Gospel is not preached, to remain unvisited and unregarded in their ignorance and vice. They no more seek to convert the people of other parishes, than if those people had no souls to be saved. Nay, they do very little for the ungodly within their own parishes. In the ten thousand parishes of England, how few Anglican Christians visit the poor, to instruct them, or distribute the Scriptures, or become Sunday-school teachers ! And of those few scarcely any are men of education.

Inactive toward the ignorant and the unconverted, Anglican Christians have also little spiritual association with each other. All Christians are brethren, but they have little brotherly intercourse. They ought "to excite each other to love and to good works, not forsaking the assembling of themselves together ;" but except that they meet with all the parish once a week to read through the liturgy and to hear a sermon, they never assemble as churches. What church-meetings do they hold to improve their discipline, to pray with one another, to exhort one another, to

¹ Phil. ii. 15, 16.

³ Rom. i. 8.

² 1 Thess. i. 8.

⁴ 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.

consider how they may revive religion in their families and in the church, to devise means for the spiritual improvement of their neighborhood ?

They do not even consult together for the removal of one of the great evils which beset them as churches. They see each of their ministers subscribing "That the book of common prayer, &c., containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God ;" and "That he acknowledgeth all and every the articles being in number nine-and-thirty to be agreeable to the word of God."¹ Thirteen thousand pastors have thus professed their complete belief in the doctrines of the prayer-book and articles. How far they really believe them may be judged by the following sensible remarks of Archdeacon Paley : "They who contend that nothing less can justify subscription to the thirty-nine articles than the actual belief of each and every separate proposition contained in them, must suppose that the legislature expected the consent of ten thousand men, and that in perpetual succession, not to one controverted proposition, but to many hundreds. It is difficult to conceive how this could be expected by any one who observed the incurable diversity of human opinion upon all subjects short of demonstration." That the thirteen thousand pastors of the Establishment can not believe all that is contained in the articles and prayer-book, seems to me as certain as it did to Dr. Paley ; but it is no less certain that they have all professed to believe them. The Bishop of Oxford has justly said, "I am sure that a more deadly blow could not be inflicted on our church than that a people, of whose character, thank God, sterling honesty is the distinctive feature, should have reason to suspect that their clergy believed one thing while they taught another." Now the Anglican churches see this blow continually inflicted, and do nothing to prevent it.

Anglo-Catholics and evangelicals, holding the most opposite views, grow on together in the Establishment. Each party accuses the other of bad faith, violations of vows, and treachery to the church ; each declaring that the other

¹ Canon 36.

should be expelled from its fold. Both maintain the exact orthodoxy of the same vast compilation of doctrines ; both appeal to the prayer-book. New recruits are added daily to both armies, and the new levies, fiercely opposed to each other, continue to subscribe to the same articles, and to declare their assent to the same prayer-book.

Either the prayer-book must be utterly obscure, or one party must be dishonest ; yet the Christians within the Establishment, fettered and handcuffed by the State, remain mute and motionless spectators of the feud. They remain still inactive, though ungodly nominees of patrons can force their way into the national pulpits ; though pastors convicted of delinquency can maintain their position in defiance of public censure ; though discipline is wholly relaxed ; though ungodly persons, armed with legal right, place themselves at the table of the Lord ; though anti-Christian canons declare dissenters, however pious, to be excommunicated schismatics ; though the Establishment never removes an abuse, or corrects an error, has no self-government, but is doomed to perpetual incapacity of advancement. The State has robbed them of their rights : they have no church functions left.

But, indeed, many of them do not wish for any alteration in their circumstances ; the system of servitude to the State has not only taken away their liberty of action, but also their value for it. By long inactivity, by isolation one from another, by the influence of those pastors whose interests and whose privileges are identified with the support of the system as it is, by a conservative political dread of all innovation, numbers of Anglicans, it is to be feared, are satisfied with their bonds, evade the force of the Scriptures, shrink from a free and fearless examination of their duty, are tempted to justify what they are afraid to mend, and exaggerate the mischiefs of dissent to make their own indefensible system less intolerable.

On the whole, it is most melancholy to contrast what the Anglican churches ought to be with what they are. They ought to be composed of " saints and faithful brethren," under the superintendence of able and faithful pas-

tors. They ought to be "the salt of the earth and the light of the world;" "epistles of Christ known and read of all men;" the soldiers of truth clothed in a divine panoply, and earnestly contending for the faith; each separate member an evangelist to his neighbors, and all together aiming at the conquest of the whole nation for Christ.

But they are a confused mass of believers and unbelievers, allowing strangers to impose upon them multitudes of ungodly pastors, who bring a spiritual blight upon them, and whose ministry they nevertheless support. The scriptural discipline, which is essential to the purity and vigor of Christian churches, they have wholly abandoned. For the plague-stricken multitudes round them they do almost nothing. If the pastors are often exclusive and schismatical, so are some of them. They associate freely, both at their own tables and at the Lord's table, with his enemies, from whom they ought to separate; and live in almost total separation from his nonconformist followers, with whom they ought to be united. Few are evangelists to the poor; few teach in Sunday-schools, and of these few scarcely any are educated men. They see round them whole villages degraded by ignorance and vice, and suffer them to live and die untaught and unwarned. Family and personal religion languishes. Few heads of families expound the Scriptures to their children and servants, or pray with them, except by the repetitions of a book. Trained in so heartless a manner, the children of religious parents frequently relapse into total worldliness; and the world recruits its forces from those who ought to have become the servants of the Redeemer. Upon the masses of the working class, the myriads of fashion, and the whole army of scientific and literary men, Anglican Christians make scarcely any impression, while a latent and wide infidelity is making unchecked ravages among them. In this Laodicean lukewarmness the churches ought to repent, to meet for discussion and mutual exhortation; should unitedly and fervently supplicate the gift of the Holy Spirit, and begin to labor for the conversion of sinners and their own spiritual improvement. But except to go through the

Sunday services they never meet as churches ; they have no brotherly association, no social prayer, no acts of humiliation, no effort for spiritual revival.

Nor is it easy to see how, under the union, any great improvement can be effected. State supremacy and aristocratic patronage secure that the Establishment shall continue forever a worldly corporation. As a representative government must ever reflect the attributes of its constituency, so long as the majority of the people are worldly, the State must be worldly too : a worldly State must generally raise worldly nominees to the bench of bishops ; and worldly bishops will ordain without scruple young men as worldly as themselves. Further, as the patrons, who are rich and great, are likely as a class to be worldly, and the pastors must generally resemble the patrons by whom they are chosen, the pastors must generally be worldly ; and as the churches can not generally rise in spirituality beyond their pastors, the churches must be worldly too. So that worldly bishops and worldly patrons are likely to secure in perpetuity worldly pastors and worldly churches throughout the land.

SECTION V.—*Influence of the Union upon Dissenters.*

The State, by exalting one sect, must depress the rest. There may be the most complete toleration which is compatible with any Establishment, and dissenters may have access to all the honors and emoluments connected with civil office, yet if the State pays the established clergy alone, and confers upon them dignities which are refused to others, it bestows on their sect an authority, and, for a long time at least, a superiority of numbers, which expose all other sects to proportionate neglect and contempt. Fashionable persons will in every country belong to the religion of the State. No man of fashion would like to be a Roman Catholic at St. Petersburg, a Protestant at Madrid, or a dissenter in London. And all those who are connected with the fashionable world, even remotely, feel the temptation to be ashamed of any sect which the State has excluded from its favors.

The effect of this State preference of one sect is to lead it to an undue exaltation of itself. In the United States, where all sects are legally equal, it would be preposterous in any one to speak of all the rest as schismatics; but when a sect is established, it may instantly assume to be "the church" within that country, and pronounce its lofty anathemas upon all dissentients from it as presumptuous and criminal. Thus the language of the English Establishment, by its canons is as follows: Canon 9: "*Authors of schism in the Church of England censured*.—Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the apostles' rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood, &c. . . . let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*." Canon 10: "*Maintainers of schismatics in the Church of England censured*,—Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that such ministers as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God's worship in the Church of England, prescribed in the communion-book, and their adherents may truly take unto them the name of another church not established by law, &c. . . . let them be excommunicated." Canon 11: "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm or maintain, that there are within this realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations of the king's born subjects, than such as by the laws of this land are held and allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches, let him be excommunicated." Canon 12: "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that it is lawful for any sort of ministers and lay persons, or of either of them, to join together and make rules, orders, or constitutions in causes ecclesiastical without the king's authority, and shall submit themselves to be ruled and governed by them, let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*." By these canons with their titles dissenters are termed schismatics. The charge is false. There are schismatical dissenters as there are schismatical Anglicans, but dissenters are not, as such, schismatical. Schism (from *σχίσμα*, a rent) is division among the disciples of Christ, who, as one flock, one brotherhood, one body, ought to be united; and those

who cause this division are schismatics.¹ Schism, or division, arises within a church by unbrotherly tempers, when its members quarrel with each other ;² it arises when any members of churches maintain dangerous errors, which force faithful men to protest against them ;³ it arises when any members of churches oblige their fellow-Christians to separate from them by their violation of the plain commands of God ;⁴ and it arises when any Christians, on any account, refuse to associate with their fellow-Christians who are sound in faith and devoted in their practice.⁵ But when Christians in a brotherly spirit maintain the doctrines of the Gospel and obey the commands of Christ, they are no schismatics ; and if any schism arises in consequence of their fidelity, those who oppose truth, and not they, are its authors.⁶ According to these plain truths, Anglicans are more schismatics than dissenters. Dissenters are contending for a sound ministry in opposition to the mass of unsound doctrine admitted through patronage into the pulpits of the Establishment ; but Anglicans recognize and support these unsound ministers. Dissenters insist upon a regard to the authority of Christ in opposition to State-supremacy : but Anglicans uphold the supremacy. Dissenters claim an obedience to the laws of Christ respecting the administration of the churches ; Anglicans overlook them. And when dissenters do this in a brotherly spirit, they are no more guilty of schism than Paul was when he withstood Peter to the face at Antioch.⁷ It is not schism to maintain truth, but to oppose it ; it is not schism to execute Christ's laws, but to disregard them. And, I repeat it, that Anglicans of a brotherly spirit are therefore more schismatical than dissenters of a brotherly spirit. Further ; as Christ has never commanded in Scripture, or

¹ John x. 16 ; Matt. xxiii. 8 ; Eph. iii. 15 ; Heb. ii. 11, 12 ; Eph. i. 22, 23 ; iv. 1, 5 ; John xvii. 20, 21 ; Rom. xiv. 1 ; xv. 5-7 ; 1 Cor. i. 10.

² Rom. xvi. 17 ; 1 Cor. i. 10 ; ii. 3 ; xi. 18, 19 ; xii. 25 ; Gal. v. 20 ; 3 John 9, 10.

³ Gal. ii. 11-13 ; 2 John 9-11.

⁴ 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.

⁵ Gal. ii. 12 ; Jude 19.

⁶ Matt. x. 32-38 ; Rom. xvi. 17 ; Gal. v. 1 ; 2 Thess. ii. 15.

⁷ Gal. ii. 11.

sanctioned by any precedent, the agglorneration of many churches into one ecclesiastical corporation, nor allowed the union of such corporation with the State, to dissent from these associations, with charity toward those who consent to them, is no division in the church of Christ. And if any schism arise from their dissent, its authors are not those who reject doctrines and practices which they know to be contrary to the will of Christ, but those who make an assent to these doctrines and practices the condition of communion with them.

Yet, however inconsiderate and false this charge against dissenters may be, it is brought against them by the Establishment itself, for these canons were passed by a synod of the province of Canterbury in 1603, received the royal sanction, and were imposed by authority of the Crown, upon both the provinces of Canterbury and York. Each bishop when appealed to must enforce them; each minister when so enjoined by the bishop must submit to them; they are the ecclesiastical laws which bind the clergy; and the Anglican Church has made the following enactments respecting them:—

“Whosoever shall hereafter assert that the sacred synod of this nation, in the name of Christ and by the king’s authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicated.”

“Whosoever shall affirm that no manner of person, either of the clergy or laity, not being themselves particularly assembled in the said sacred synod, are to be subject to the decrees thereof, &c. . . . let him be excommunicated.”—Canons 139, 140.

All clergymen, therefore, who disown the authority of these canons, are liable to excommunication and to imprisonment by the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*.

Without the aid of the union, these canonical fulminations would be simply ridiculous; but when solemnly promulgated by a synod of the State-paid clergy as the doctrine of the national church, they attach the stigma of schism to dissenters in the minds of myriads. Under the shelter of these canons, bishops proclaim them in their charges to be

schismatics, clergymen echo it from their pulpits, and even liberal men in the Establishment are afraid openly to deny it. By aid of the union, the Establishment, rising above all competition, can loftily look down upon all other churches as sectaries. "This is not a mere State-church," says the excellent Bishop of Calcutta, "*but the religion of Christ our Lord* as established by his providence and grace in Great Britain in the second century. . . . *the Christian religion* wisely and mildly established by a Christian government. Much less is our church a sectarian body, as some would call it; that is a small number of persons who have cut themselves off from the mass of Christians by certain peculiarities; but the national church of the government, nobles and people of our religious country."¹

This doctrine, originated and sustained by the union, besides being in the highest degree unjust to dissenters, inflicts upon them many injuries.

Persons thus trained from childhood to look upon dissenters as schismatics, whom they should, according to the apostle's command, avoid (Rom. xvi. 17), are afraid to hear the Gospel from their lips. Were a dissenting minister to open a chapel for worship in any large village where there is a moral and benevolent rector, whose doctrine is unsound and whose life is worldly, few among the villagers would dare to hear the schismatic. Were the two ministers upon the footing of legal equality, as in a village of the United States, the multitude would flock to hear the Gospel; but here, where the State maintains the worldly pastor and frowns upon the evangelist, his doctrine is suspected, his person is despised, and he can not gather a congregation. A similar spirit has hitherto impeded the evangelic labors of dissenters in every city of the kingdom.

As, however, members of the Establishment may hear a dissenting minister without paying a very heavy penalty to society in the present day for the liberty which they assume, those of the upper classes whose piety has con-

¹ Farewell Charge, May, 1825, pp. 22, 23.

quered their prejudices will steal into a chapel where an experienced and able dissenter so expounds the Gospel as to enlarge their views and warm their Christian affections more than the neighboring ministers of the Establishment. But no such pious and liberal Anglicans ever join their nonconforming brethren at the table of the Lord. They will hear able and eloquent dissenters, but to become dissenters themselves would be so offensive to the class with which they usually associate, and would expose them to such a storm of reproach, that not one in a thousand has the courage to come to that decision; while those few who do are usually represented as persons of extreme and culpable eccentricity.

Similar influences act upon wealthy dissenters themselves. When the possession of large fortunes has opened the way for them, and still more for their children to fashionable society, their dissent is the chief barrier to be removed. The aristocracy is almost entirely devoted to the Establishment. Independently of obvious political considerations, the system which has the favor of the Crown and the smiles of the government, and which includes within it prelates, peerages, and palaces, attracts them far more than a vulgar Presbyterianism and a still more democratic Independency. Since, therefore, those who aim at admission into this refined and noble society must leave that plebeianism behind them, the sons of wealthy dissenters very often spurn the communion of their fathers, and by an enthusiastic support of the union prove their title to glitter in those aristocratic circles from which nonconformity is excluded.

Perhaps the constant accession of poor persons to the ranks of dissent by faithful preaching, and the constant loss of the children of the wealthy may not exercise an unfavorable influence upon the spirituality of the dissenting churches; but at the same time they must be considerably embarrassed and impeded in their operations by the fact that the wealth which was once employed by their parents to support their ministers, their schools, their missions, and their poorer members, is continually passing over, by the

defection of the sons, to the aid of those who condemn them as mischievous schismatics.

Being thus impoverished by the indirect influence of the Establishment, they are further taxed to support it.

As the State is the owner of the ecclesiastical property by which it maintains the incumbents of the Establishment, upon condition of services to be rendered by them in return, it has a right to resume those funds when it finds that this application of them is both unscriptural and injurious. When the State discovered that the ministry of Catholic priests was injurious to the country, it transferred its ecclesiastical funds to Protestant pastors with perfect justice; and with equal justice might it now transfer them to schoolmasters, or employ them for any other useful object, upon discovery that their present use is mischievous. Under these circumstances, the application of the ecclesiastical rent-charges to the maintenance of the clergy of one sect, deprives dissenters of their share of the benefit which all might receive from their application to common objects. But church-rates are a much more direct tax upon them; and believing, as they do, that the churches of the Establishment are crippled and enfeebled rather than benefited by the patronage of the State, the withdrawal of which patronage would lead to a revival of religion throughout the kingdom, they must feel it hard to be made to contribute by their industry to the support of a union which they know to be contrary to the will of Christ, and prejudicial to the best interests of the nation.

For seeking to destroy this union they are reproached with being political; but how can they dissolve a political arrangement except by political means? How can they bring the State to sound legislation on this subject except by meetings and petitions? The political nature of the union compels those who seek its removal to engage in politics. And if Roman Catholics and infidels feel the grievance too, and seek its removal for their own reasons, evangelical dissenters may no more justly be accused of fraternizing with them in these efforts, because they vote and act on the same side, than evangelical Anglicans can

be accused of fraternizing with gamblers and profligates, because their votes are blended with the votes of some profligate conservatives in support of the Establishment.

If the necessity of political action to separate the Church from the State does further lead some dissenters to enter more deeply into other political questions than is good for them, this furnishes a new reason why they should as speedily as possible destroy the union, because then this temptation to rush into the strife of party politics would be withdrawn.

But in whatever degree dissenters offend by their association with irreligious politicians or by their bitterness of spirit, Anglican Christians must share in their guilt, because they have driven them to both. Upon the removal of the union both would cease, and the different denominations of England, as different denominations in the United States, forsaking political aims and the fierceness of party strife, would act in harmony, to the great improvement of the churches, and to the comfort of the country at large.

Let us now recapitulate the evils which the union inflicts upon dissenters. By exalting a rival denomination it necessarily depresses them, and by branding them as schismatics shuts them out from the society and the sympathy of their fellow-Christians. It impedes their efforts to instruct the ignorant; it allures the children of their wealthier members to desert them, and thus impoverishes their ministers, their schools, their colleges, and their missions; it deprives them of their share of advantage from the ecclesiastical property of the nation; it forces them, by the payment of church-rates, to support an ecclesiastical system which they condemn; and, by compelling them to seek a political remedy for a great political grievance, it exposes them to the censure and dislike of their fellow-Christians, as a turbulent political party, who merit the severest reprehension.

CHAPTER II.

INFLUENCE OF THE UNION UPON THINGS.

WE have now to consider the influence of the union on the progress of true religion in our country. Its principles, as we have seen, are corrupt and unscriptural ; its influence upon various important classes of men is noxious ; and, lastly, it injures various great interests of the country connected with religion. In the progress of our inquiry we shall see that it does not much increase the number of Christian ministers, that it prevents their wise distribution through the country, that its resources are ill applied, that it maintains corruption in doctrine, that it has ruined church discipline, that it hinders the evangelization of the country, that it perpetuates schisms in the churches, that it renders the reformation of the Establishment impossible, that it impedes the progress of religion, that it embarrasses the government, and that it lends strength to all the papal establishments of Europe.

SECTION I.—*Influence of the Union on the Number of Ministers.*

Too much has been said and thought of the mere multiplication of ministers. Bad ministers are the greatest enemies to the cause of Christ ; and while they profess to lead men to eternal life, rather conduct them, by their preaching and example, to eternal destruction. If the State were to render its rectors and vicars as numerous as the monks and friars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it would only increase the irreligion of the country, supposing these incumbents to be irreligious. Nothing whatever is gained to the cause of religion by the multi-

plication of unconverted ministers. Of what use was it to the Jews before the destruction of their nation, that those religious teachers were multiplied, of whom Christ said, "*Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. . . . Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves.*"¹ They multiplied, indeed, religious ceremonies over the land, but God's judgment of them was, "*In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*" And our Lord declared the end of them and their disciples by saying, "*Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind: and if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.*"²

Pompous, bigoted, worldly, sporting, dancing, covetous, vicious, ignorant, self-indulgent, or idle incumbents, not called to the ministry by the Holy Spirit, not owned as ministers by Christ, ignorant of the Gospel, and as much enemies to true religion as Paul was when he was at once a punctilious Pharisee and a furious persecutor, can only misrepresent religion, perpetuate spiritual death in the churches, and make the Gospel hateful to the rest of the world. They harden the irreligious in their profanity; they make numbers think that all religion is hypocrisy; they oppose the disciples of Christ; and they conceal, by a decent religious ceremonial, the spiritual destitution of the country from those who would otherwise strive to remove it. If no ungodly persons were permitted to bring their children to be baptized, or were admitted to the Lord's Supper, or could become ministers, if all ungodly communicants and ministers could be wholly put out of the churches according to divine command (1 Cor. v. 11-13), the churches of Christ in this country, though perhaps greatly reduced in the number of their members, would be in much better circumstances for preaching Christ to the world. In examining, therefore, the union, let us

¹ Matt. xxiii. 13, 15.

² Matt. xv. 9, 14.

rather ask the character of such ministers than their number. Yet, we ought to consider their number likewise. If the Anglican churches have sacrificed their liberty, their purity, their zeal, their discipline, and their concord with other churches, for the sake of their union with the State, how much have they gained in the matter of numbers by the union?

The whole number of benefices is 10,533;¹ the number of curates is 5230;² and thus the number of the officiating clergy is somewhat above 15,763. Mr. Horsman, including various dignitaries and heads of colleges, states the whole number of clergy in England and Wales to be 16,810.³ But of these, 3087 "having no duties to attend to," the number of the working clergy is reduced to 12,923 for 10,533 benefices, forming 11,077 parishes. As many of these benefices have been created by individual zeal, and many of the curates are furnished by the "Pastoral Aid Society," the "Curates' Aid Society," and other voluntary sources, all the working clergy are not provided by the State. However, let us assume that the State provides 12,923 ministers for 16,000,000 of the population, affording one member to each 1238 persons. This is a large supply; and if all, or even half of these ministers could be thought to be converted men, it would make Christians bear very much before they took a step to diminish their number. But, alas! we have too little ground for that supposition, whether we consider the characters of the young men at the Universities, the patrons who select them, the reasons for which so many "go into the church," the number of pulpits offered to the "Church Missionary Society," the number of clerical subscribers to the "Bible Society," or the proportion of reputed evangelical clergymen in almost any neighborhood of almost any county. However, whatever their merit, the dissolution of the union will not lessen their numbers so much as many ignorantly suppose.

¹ M'Culloch, vol. ii. p. 396.

² Ibid. p. 412.

³ Horsman, "Speech on the Bishopric of Manchester Bill," p. 20.

To form a sound opinion on this point, we have to consider what is already done by free churches.

The following table (p. 248) shows the number of ministers of three evangelical denominations in the year 1831, since which they have considerably added to their number.

But since 1831 the evangelical free churches have greatly multiplied. In 1838, Mr. Conder stated the Congregationalist churches to be 1840; the Methodist congregations of all classes to be 4239; and the evangelical Presbyterian churches to be 113.¹ The Baptist churches in Great Britain and Ireland now amount to 1872;² and deducting 90 Scotch and 41 Irish churches, there remain 1741 in England and Wales. Hence the number of evangelical free churches in England and Wales, of four denominations, is now as follows:—

Congregationalist	1840
Baptist	1741
Methodist	4239
Presbyterian	113
	<hr/>
	7933
Moravian, Lady Huntingdon's Connection, &c. say	17
	<hr/>
Total free churches of England and Wales	7950

If now we deduct 50 from this number, as being without regular ministers, the number of the ministers of free churches will be about 7900. Mr. Conder represents the number of attendants in these congregations to be above 3,000,000, and thinks that they represent a population of 4,500,000.³ Assuming that 4,000,000 of the population are connected with these 7950 churches, then 4,000,000 maintain 7900 ministers, *i. e.* one minister for each 506 of the hearers.

The number of ministers maintained by the Wesleyan body in connection with the Conference, is 1010, besides

¹ Conder's View of all Religions, p. 421.

² Baptist Manual for 1846, p. 38.

³ Conder's View of all Religions, p. 421.

*Number of Congregations of several Denominations in England and Wales in 1831.*¹

Place.	Population.	Anglican.	Independent.	Baptist.	Wesleyan Methodist.	Calvinistic Methodist.	Other Methodist.	Home Mission.	Totals Dissenting.
London and Middlesex.	1,568,300	246	103	65	59	22	7	—	256
Cheshire	334,391	142	31	7	48	8	30	—	124
Cornwall	302,440	221	31	16	219	3	39	—	308
Devonshire	494,478	490	63	44	93	5	18	28	251
Durham	253,910	112	14	10	72	—	28	37	161
Lancashire	1,336,854	292	100	40	154	9	80	66	449
Yorkshire	1,371,359	760	170	63	532	1	147	10	923
North and South Wales.	806,182	998	374	159	214	300	15	—	1,062
England and Wales....	13,897,187	11,825	1,840	1,201	2,818	427	666	453	7,405

¹ Extracted from a Table of Congregations in England and Wales. M'Culloch's "Statistics," ii. 415.

175 aged or infirm, and the number of members is 339,379, so that there is one minister to each 336 members.

In 1837, Mr. M'Culloch stated the number of Protestant congregations in Scotland to be as follows :—

Summary of the Congregations of Scotland, 1837.

Established Church	1023
Presbyterian Dissenters	541
Scottish Episcopalians	72
English Episcopalians	4
Independents	88
Other Sects	40

Total not connected with the Establishment, 745 ; majority of the Establishment, 278.¹

But the number of the free churches has since then greatly increased. Not long ago I was furnished by a friend in Scotland with the following summary :—

Ministers of the Establishment.....	1105
„ Free Church.....	625
„ Associate Synod	393
„ Original Seceders.....	34
„ Relief Synod	115
„ Cameronians	30
„ Congregationalists	75
„ Scotch Episcopalians.....	101
„ English Episcopalians.....	9
„ Baptists.....	40

Ministers of free churches..... 1422

The number of the congregations of the Free Church has now grown to about 847,² and the number of their regular ministers is above 700. To the foregoing summary we must, therefore, add seventy-five Free Church ministers, and the total number of the ministers of free churches in Scotland appears to be 1497 : majority of the ministers of free churches over the ministers of the Establishment is therefore 392. In Scotland, therefore, individual

¹ M'Culloch, vol. ii. p. 430.

² Missionary Record of the Free Church, June, 1848.

zeal maintains a number of ministers one-third greater than the number maintained by the State. The population is 2,628,957, and if we estimate the members and the adherents of the free churches to be one-half the population, *i. e.* 1,314,478, then individual zeal in Scotland maintains 1497 or 1500 ministers for 1,314,478 of the population, which is one minister for every 876 hearers.

In the United States the results of individual zeal are not less extensive. The population of the United States in 1840 was 17,062,666,¹ and the number of ministers of five evangelical denominations is represented in the following table, which is extracted from an important volume which Mr. Baird has published on the state of religion in the United States.²

The Number of Ministers of Five Evangelical Denominations in the United States.

Denominations.	Churches.	Ministers.	Communicants.	Hearers.
Episcopalians	1,164	1,033	105,745	712,000
Presbyterians and } Congregationalists }	8,111	5,411	751,803	4,350,000
Baptists	8,561	4,375	622,478	3,423,000
Methodists	12,445 ³	4,112 ⁴	935,418	5,400,000
Totals	30,281	14,931	2,415,444	13,885,000

The American Almanac for 1846 confirms the statements of Mr. Baird, making the churches of the evangelical denominations to be 29,490, the ministers 15,231, and

¹ American Facts, by G. P. Putnam, 1845, p. 27.

² Baird's Religion in United States, chap. 16, p. 600.

³ Mr. Baird makes them 25,134, but as many of them are very small, I have stated them at the number of the local preachers.

⁴ "The total number of Methodist preachers is 10,505; but as this number includes the local preachers, I have set the number of ministers at the number of traveling preachers who are wholly devoted to the ministry."—BAIRD, p. 601.

the communicants to be 2,651,003.¹ We may therefore safely state the number of ministers to be 15,000 for a population of 17,000,000. The people of the United States are placed under great disadvantages with reference to the maintenance of ministers, first, because there is annually a large influx of European emigrants, who bring with them the irreligion and apathy into which they have been plunged by the Establishments of Europe; and secondly, because the population, like the population of our own colonies, is spread over a wide surface, in which circumstances it is much more difficult to maintain pastors. Yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, the Christians of the United States maintain 15,000 ministers for 17,000,000 persons, *i. e.* one minister to every 1133 of the population, a number very nearly adequate to the whole supply of their wants. Nearly 14,000,000 out of 17,000,000 are actually listening to the Gospel from 15,000 faithful ministers, and maintain for themselves pastors in the ratio of one pastor for 925 hearers.

From these figures it appears, that under all the disadvantages which the Establishments have thrown in their way, the evangelical churches of England have supplied 7900 ministers for 16,000,000, *i. e.* one minister to every 2025; the evangelical free churches of Scotland supply one minister to every 1752 of the whole population; while in the United States, where no such obstructions exist, the evangelical churches supply one minister to every 1133 of the whole population.

These figures enable us further to judge how large a supply of ministers may be expected to be furnished by individual zeal when the advancement of sound views shall have dissolved the connection of the Anglican Churches with the State. Since the Wesleyan body in England maintain one minister for every 336 members; since the free evangelical churches of England maintain one minister to every 506 hearers; since the free evangelical churches

¹ American Almanac for 1846, p. 191. I have made the same alterations as before in the number of the Methodist congregations and ministers.

of Scotland maintain one minister to each 876 hearers ; and since the evangelical churches of the United States maintain one minister to each 925 hearers, we may infer that every 1000 hearers throughout England and Wales will maintain their minister when the Anglican Churches shall be also free.

Those who think this to be a vain expectation, from the present apathy of the masses in the Anglican Churches, should recollect that new circumstances would create in them new principles. We may no more argue from what Anglican Churches do under the paralyzing chain of the State to what they would do when free, than we could calculate the present efforts of the Scotch Free Church from the comparative indifference of its members before the disruption. Anglicans are not necessarily inferior in liberality to all other denominations ; and that which is done by the free churches of England, Scotland, and the United States, could be done by the Anglican churches likewise if they were free.

Large numbers, it is true, often claimed by writers of the Establishment when they make a boastful comparison of its numbers with those of dissenters, belong in reality to no denomination. Perhaps one-fourth of the whole population must be assigned to this irreligious class. Of course these would make no sacrifice to support ministers. Effective Anglicans may, therefore, be reduced to 8,000,000. Of these we may safely assert, from the large experience of other bodies, that they would maintain one minister for every 1000. The supply of ministers, therefore, after the dissolution of the union, would stand thus :—

Pastors for 8,000,000 Anglicans	8000
Pastors for 4,000,000 Dissenters	7900
City Missionaries	100
<hr/>	
Total pastors and teachers for 16,000,000	16,000

There would, in other words, be one pastor to every 1000 of the population ; and though this number would be less than the actual number now supplied by the Establishment

and the free churches together, yet the increased efficiency of pastors chosen and maintained by the churches, and the better distribution through the country, would render the whole supply of religious instructors to the community far more effective than it is at present.

SECTION II.—*Influence of the Union upon the Distribution of Ministers.*

As the union introduces unfit men into the ministry, and maintains an inadequate number of ministers, so it distributes its ministers with a wasteful inattention to the wants of the population. Thirteen thousand working clergy, if selected for their piety and well placed, might, with the aid of the ministers of other denominations, nearly meet the wants of the country : but under the reign of patronage they are so distributed as to leave millions of the people uninstructed.

Let us first examine the disproportionate distribution of ministers in many of the dioceses.—(*See Tables*, pp. 354, 355.)

1. In four dioceses, containing 6,148,662 souls, there are 2644 pastors ; and in nineteen other dioceses, containing 5,753,559 souls, there are 6718 pastors. The State, therefore, provides twice the number of pastors for the smaller population : in the nineteen dioceses, it provides one pastor to every 856 of the population, and in the four dioceses one pastor for every 2325 of the population.

2. In the four populous dioceses there are 6,148,662 souls, with 2644 pastors, and in the four agricultural dioceses there are 1,924,645 souls, with 2862 pastors. In the first four dioceses the population is three times greater than it is in the last four, and yet the number of pastors in the first four is less than the number in the second four. In the first four there is one pastor to each 2325 souls, and in the second four there is one pastor to each 672 souls. Either, therefore, the State has created a lavish and useless multiplication of pastors in the agricultural dioceses, or it has mischievously neglected the supply of pastors in the populous dioceses.

Table of the Population and of the Benefices in Four populous Districts.¹

Dioceses.	Benefices.	Population.
Chester	616	1,883,958
Lichfield	623	1,045,481
London	577	1,722,685
York	828	1,496,538
Totals	2,644	6,148,662

Table of the Population and of the Benefices in Nineteen Dioceses.²

Dioceses.	Benefices.	Population.
St. Asaph	160	191,156
Bangor	131	163,702
Bath and Wells	440	403,795
Bristol	255	232,026
Canterbury	343	405,272
Carlisle	128	135,002
Chichester	266	254,460
St. David's	451	358,451
Ely	156	133,722
Gloucester	283	315,512
Hereford	326	206,327
Llandaff	194	181,244
Lincoln	1,273	899,468
Norwich	1,076	690,138
Oxford	208	140,700
Peterborough	305	194,339
Rochester	93	191,875
Salisbury	408	384,683
Worcester	222	271,687
Totals	6,718	5,753,559

¹ M'Culloch, vol. ii. p. 396. The erection of the two sees of Ripon and Manchester makes no difference in the number of the working clergy.

² M'Culloch, vol. ii. p. 396.

Table of the Population and of the Benefices in Four Agricultural Dioceses.¹

Dioceses.	Benefices.	Population.
Lincoln	1,273	899,468
Norwich	1,076	690,138
Oxford	208	140,700
Peterborough	305	194,339
Totals	2,862	1,924,645

Similar results, unhappily, appear from a comparison of the State supply of pastors in different counties.

Table of the Number of Clergymen in Twenty Counties.²

County.	Clergy.	Population.
Bedford	127	95,483
Berkshire	160	145,389
Buckingham	214	146,529
Cambridge	174	143,955
Devon	490	494,478
Dorset	263	159,252
Hereford	227	111,211
Hertford	131	143,341
Huntingdon	97	53,192
Leicester	254	197,003
Lincoln	607	317,465
Norfolk	699	390,054
Oxford	242	152,126
Rutland	50	19,385
Somerset	494	404,200
Suffolk	501	296,317
Sussex	322	272,340
Westmoreland	67	55,041
Wiltshire	314	240,156
Worcestershire	201	211,565
Totals	5,634	4,048,482

¹ M'Culloch, vol. ii. p. 396.² *Ib.* p. 415.

Table of the Number of Clergymen in Three populous Counties in 1831.¹

County.	Clergy.	Population.
London and Middlesex	246	1,358,300
Lancashire	292	1,336,854
Yorkshire	760	1,371,359
Totals	1,298	4,066,513

Table of the Number of Clergymen in Three Agricultural Counties.

County.	Clergy.	Population.
Huntingdon.....	97	53,192
Norfolk.....	699	390,054
Suffolk.....	501	296,317
Totals	1,297	739,563

From a comparison of the first table with the second, we find that the State has appointed 5634 ministers for 4,048,482 of its subjects residing in certain parts of the kingdom, and 1298 for 4,066,513 residing in other parts of the kingdom. To the one body it assigns one pastor for every 718 souls, and to the other body it assigns one minister for every 3132 ; in other words, it supports four times as many pastors for the one body as for the other.

From a comparison of the second table with the third, we learn that the State has provided 1298 ministers for 4,066,513 souls in three counties, and 1297 ministers for 739,563 souls in three other counties. The one population being five times greater than the other, the State has furnished each with the same number of ministers. If, therefore, it has provided a sufficient number for the greater

¹ M'Culloch, vol. ii. p. 415.

population, it has lavished four times too many on the smaller; if it has barely supplied the wants of the smaller, it has left the larger destitute of four-fifths of the number required.

But these figures do not properly represent the unequal distribution of ministers throughout the country, because that inequality, arising chiefly from the disregard of the *town* population by the State, can not be disclosed by the examination of any large portions of country which embrace both civic and agricultural districts; it is understood better by a comparison of a city with a district exclusively agricultural—a comparison, for instance, of London with Rutlandshire.

The whole number of parishes in the metropolis, if we comprehend all the parishes within eight miles of St. Paul's, is 190,¹ and this represents the whole number of ministers appointed by the State for the metropolis; being 190 for 2,022,384, or one minister to each 11,069 of the population. But 98 of these parishes lie within the city, and confine their clerical exertions to 54,626 souls, the population of that part of the metropolis. There remain 92 parishes, which contain the remaining population of the metropolis, amounting to $2,022,384 - 54,626 = 1,967,758$ souls. The whole supply, therefore, which the State has secured for the metropolis, exclusive of the city, is 92, which is one minister to each 21,388. As, however, all the metropolitan incumbents, exclusive of those in the city, must have curates, who, though not appointed by the State, are yet generally maintained by the official incomes of the incumbents, we must add these curates to the number of the pastors maintained by the State. Thus the State maintains 184 ministers for 1,967,758, which is one minister to each 10,694 of the population.

In Rutland, in 1831, there were 19,385 persons distributed among 54 parishes, for which the State has provided 50 ministers,² which is one minister for each 387 persons. And as $27 \times 387 = 10,449$, which is less

¹ London City Mission Magazine, Jan. 1843, p. 4.

² M'Culloch, vol. ii. p. 415.

than 10,694, the number assigned by the State to each city pastor, the State maintains twenty-seven times as many ministers for the agriculturists of Rutland as for the citizens of London. To 10,449 country laborers the State allots twenty-seven pastors, and to 10,449 Londoners one pastor. To one city minister the State allots twenty-seven times as much labor as to one country minister. Either, then, the union has been mischievously lavish in its regard to country laborers, or has mischievously neglected the citizens of the metropolis.

Unhappily, this comparison of London with Rutlandshire only affords a specimen of the neglect of the State toward many of the cities and great towns of England. The Pastoral Aid Society now assists 301 incumbents, who have under their care an aggregate population of 2,077,703 souls, or an average of 6902.¹ At the same time there are in England and Wales 4774 parishes, which have a population varying from 100 to 300.² Putting the population of each of these parishes at 300, we have 4774 ministers for 1,432,200, while there are 301 ministers for 2,077,703 souls. In round numbers, there are 4774 ministers to 1,500,000 persons, and 300 ministers to 2,000,000 persons. In other words, the State has assigned one minister to each 300 peasants, and one minister to each 6900 citizens; and since $23 \times 300 = 6900$, the State has given to each city minister a charge twenty-three times greater than that assigned to each country minister. Deducting one-fifth from the civic numbers, we find that 1,500,000 country laborers receive from the State 4774 ministers, and 1,500,000 citizens receive 240. The 1,500,000 laborers have received nineteen times as many pastors as the 1,500,000 citizens; either, therefore, the laborers have far too many State pastors, or the citizens have far too few.

Still greater inequalities in the State distribution of pas-

¹ Report, 1848. The society have now before them fifty-six further applications from incumbents, having an average population of 5688 under their charge.

² Horsman, p. 20.

tors appear when we select for comparison certain civic parishes with certain country parishes.

In the autumn of 1846 there were seventeen metropolitan parishes, in which the supply of ministers was as follows :—

Table of the Clergy of Seventeen Metropolitan Parishes.¹

Parish.	Clergy.	Population.
St. George's, Southwark...	5	50,000
St. George's, East.....	4	42,000
Poplar	2	21,000
Limehouse	2	22,000
Shadwell	1	10,000
Spitalfields	2	21,000
Shoreditch, St. Leonard ...	3	35,000
Hoxton	2	24,000
Haggerstone ..	2	19,000
Clerkenwell, St. James....	2	30,000
St. John	1	8,500
St. Luke, Old Street	2	15,000
St. Barnabas.....	1	14,000
Newington, Surrey.....	7	60,000
Christ Church	2	15,000
St. Anne's, Soho	2	17,000
Stepney, St. Dunstan's	3	25,000
Totals	43	428,000

Thus, for 428,000 citizens, the Establishment furnishes forty-three ministers, *i.e.* one for each 9953 souls. But out of 11,077 Anglican parishes there are 1907 which have each less than one hundred souls in them. Thus the Establishment has provided forty-three ministers for 428,000 of the civic population, and 1907 ministers for 190,700 of the village population. In the metropolis it allots one minister to 9953 souls, in the country one minister to one hundred souls; and as $99 \times 100 = 9900$, the State allots ninety-

¹ Horsman, p. 21. This list includes all the clergy of these parishes, and not merely those provided by the State.

nine times as many persons to the city pastor as it does to the country pastor. In 1907 country parishes 9900 persons have ninety-nine pastors, and in seventeen metropolitan parishes 9900 persons have only one pastor. In the first case there is enormous waste of public instructors, in the second an enormous neglect.

It is further melancholy to consider to what an extent this neglect on the one hand, and this waste on the other, are carried. There being, on the whole, 11,077 parishes, containing 16,000,000 persons, 1907 of these have each less than 100 inhabitants, and therefore contain less than 190,700 inhabitants, and 4774 of them contain each less than 300 inhabitants, and therefore together they contain less than 1,432,200.¹ Of 11,077 parishes, 6681, together, contain less than 1,622,900 persons. Deducting these from the higher figures, we find that there remain 4396 parishes, containing 14,377,100. As there are 12,923 working clergy, and the State has assigned 6681 of these to parishes with less than 300 inhabitants, there remain 6242 ministers for the remaining 4396 parishes. Thus, in 6681 parishes the State has provided one pastor for less than 300 souls, and in 4396 parishes it has provided one pastor to 2300 souls; and as $7 \times 300 = 2100$, the State has provided seven times as many pastors for its subjects in one part of the country as it has for those in another. In 4396 parishes, 2300 persons have one pastor, and in 6681 parishes 2300 persons have seven pastors. *More than one half the number of the working ministers are expended by the State upon one-eighth of the population, and seven-eighths are left with a provision not equal to that which is afforded to one-eighth. Fourteen millions are starved, and two millions are surfeited.*

Individual zeal, on the other hand, is as thrifty as the State is prodigal—as wise as the State is thoughtless. Whether we regard the counties of England, the manufacturing districts, or the metropolis, we find that while the State disregards the proportions of the population, individual zeal makes them the measure of its supply.

¹ Horsman, p. 20.

First, let us compare the number of Anglican ministers with the number of the free church ministers in several counties.

Table of the Number of Clergymen and of Dissenting Ministers in Three Agricultural Counties, in 1831.¹

County.	Population.	Clergy.	Independents.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Three Denominations.	All Dissenters.
Norfolk	390,054	699	34	40	99	173	206
Rutland	19,385	50	4	2	7	13	14
Suffolk	296,317	501	35	39	41	115	132
Totals . . .	705,756	1250	73	81	147	301	352

Table of the Number of Clergymen and of Dissenting Ministers in Three populous Counties in 1831.²

County.	Population.	Clergy.	Independents.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Three Denominations.	Dissenters.
London and } Middlesex }	1,358,300	246	103	65	88	256	306
Lancashire ..	1,336,854	292	100	40	243	383	581
Yorkshire ...	1,371,359	760	170	63	680	913	1047
Totals . . .	4,066,513	1298	373	168	1011	1552	1934

The population in three agricultural counties is 705,756, while that in three manufacturing and civic counties is 4,066,513, which is five times greater than the former. The Anglican pastors provided for the former are 1250, for the latter 1298, which is nearly the same. The State provides one pastor for each 564 of the rural population, and one for each 3132 of the manufacturing; and as $5 \times 564 = 2820$, it provides 2820 of the manufacturers

¹ M'Culloch, vol. ii. p. 415.

² Ib.

and citizens with one pastor, and 2820 of the peasants with five pastors.

On the other hand, the pastors provided by free evangelical churches for 705,756 persons in the three agricultural counties amount to 301, which affords one pastor to each 2344 of the population ; and the ministers provided by them for 4,066,513 persons in the three populous counties is 1552, which affords one minister to each 2620. The proportion to numbers is in each case the same. As the population in the manufacturing counties is five times greater than that in the agricultural counties, so the number of free-church pastors in the former counties is five times greater than that in the latter counties. The distribution of ministers by the State in these counties is wasteful and inconsiderate ; their distribution by individual zeal is economical and wise. For the agricultural population, which is five times smaller than the manufacturing, the free churches have furnished a number of ministers four times less than that furnished by the State ; but for the civic and manufacturing population, which is five times greater than the agricultural, the free churches have furnished a number which surpasses the number of the State pastors by 254. For the three agricultural counties the free evangelical churches have done less, because these are the least important ; but for the three most populous counties, which are the most important, these free churches have furnished 254 more ministers than the Establishment.

Let us next compare the provision of ministers which has been made by the State, with that which has been furnished by individual zeal in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire. On this point I can not do better than avail myself of the valuable labors of Mr. Baines, of Leeds, some of the results of whose extended and accurate investigations are contained in the following Table, which I have extracted from his important pamphlet, entitled "The Social, Educational, and Religious State of the Manufacturing Districts."

Table of the Churches, Chapels, and Sittings in the Cotton District of Lancashire.

Place.	Population.	Episcopal Churches.										Dissenting Chapels.							
		Built before 1800.		Built since 1800.		By Voluntary Contributions.		Totals.		Before 1800.		Since 1800.		Totals.		Majority by Voluntary Contributions.			
		Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.		
Ashton Parish -----	73,383	4	4,149	4	5,206	1	60	9	9,415	1	300	45	19,552	46	19,852	37	10,437		
Bolton Borough ----	50,500	2	2,450	1	2,500	3	3,500	6	8,450	3	1,770	16	8,485	19	10,255	13	1,805		
Liverpool Borough-	284,000	13	15,911	1	1,450	26	34,326	40	51,687	14	11,034	53	44,466	67	55,500	27	3,813		
Manchester Borough	242,176	11	14,551	3	6,400	12	12,450	26	33,401	9	10,136	61	40,981	70	51,117	44	17,716		
Salford -----	63,416	3	4,100	1	1,950	5	5,500	9	11,550	1	600	25	13,890	26	14,490	17	2,940		
Oldham -----	42,593	2	2,300	1	1,837			3	4,137	2	1,163	18	6,845	20	8,008	17	3,871		
Preston Borough---	50,829	2	2,550	2	2,300	5	5,350	9	10,200	5	3,720	13	9,430	18	13,150	9	2,950		
Rochdale Parish ...	67,874	4	2,510	2	2,612	4	3,700	10	8,822	3	860	48	19,591	51	20,451	41	11,629		
LANCASHIRE -----	1,224,708	83	93,918	25	34,985	92	92,345	200	221,248	96	59,445	472	243,339	568	302,784	368	81,536		

Table of the Churches, Chapels, and Sittings in the Woollen District of Yorkshire.

Place.	Population.	Episcopal Churches.										Chapels of other Denominations.										Majority of Voluntary Chapels.
		Built before 1800.		Built since 1800.		Totals.		Before 1800.		Since 1800.		Totals.										
		Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.							
Huddersfield-----	25,018	1	1,620	1	400	3	2,916	5	4,936	1	600	10	9,948	11	10,548	6	5,612					
Leeds Parish-----	151,840	10	10,665	3	4,650	7	6,022	20	21,337	11	7,730	58	38,169	69	45,899	49	24,562					
Sheffield Parish-----	110,840	4	4,400	4	8,000	5	2,570	13	14,970	10	8,715	26	17,435	36	26,150	13	11,180					
Wakefield Parish----	28,321	3	3,534	2	3,000	2	1,150	7	7,684	5	2,571	14	6,828	19	9,399	12	1,715					
Yorkshire Wool. Dist.	844,563	87	72,784	29	31,526	51	32,426	167	136,736	116	66,903	501	216,448	617	283,351	450	146,615					

Table of the Churches, Chapels, and Sittings in the Cotton and Woollen Districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Place.	Population.	Episcopal Churches.										Chapels of other Denominations.										Majority of Voluntary Chapels.
		Built before 1800.		Parliamentary.		Others.		Totals.		Before 1800.		Since 1800.		Totals.		Chapels.	Sittings.					
		Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.							
Lancashire District.---	1,224,708	83	93,918	25	34,985	92	92,345	200	221,348	96	54,445	472	243,339	568	302,784	368	81,536					
Yorkshire District.----	844,563	87	72,784	29	31,526	51	32,426	167	136,736	116	66,903	501	216,448	617	283,351	458	146,615					
Cotton and Woollen Districts.-----}	2,069,271	170	166,702	54	66,511	143	124,771	367	357,984	212	126,348	973	459,787	1185	586,135	818	228,151					

The first thing which strikes us when we look at the religious condition of the manufacturing districts is the great necessity which exists for sustained exertion to supply their religious and educational wants. The increase of population has been as follows :—

*Increase of the Population in the Cotton and Woollen Districts
since 1800.*

District.	Population, 1801.	Population, 1841.	Increase.	Increase per Cent.
Lancashire ..	493,834	1,224,708	730,874	148
Yorkshire ...	414,000	844,563	430,563	104
Totals ...	907,834	2,069,271	1,161,437	127

Since, then, the population of these districts doubles itself in less than forty years, it is necessary that the provision of the ministers of religion should likewise be doubled in forty years.

But this the union has not been able to accomplish. In the year 1801, there were 170 churches in the Establishment for 907,834 souls in these districts; and, assuming that these churches were furnished by the union, that the union allotted one minister to each church, and that one minister can take the spiritual charge of 1000 souls, then the union provided for 170,000 persons in these districts, leaving 737,834 unprovided with ministers.

To be efficient, then, in its assumed episcopate, the State ought to have provided for these districts, since that time, 737 more ministers who were then needed; and 1161 other ministers were required for 1,161,437, who have since been added to that population. In all, 1898 ministers were required to be added by the State to make the Establishment effectual as a national provision for the whole population of those districts. Instead, however, of furnishing 1898 ministers, the State has, from that day to this, furnished scarcely any. Sir Robert Peel's Act has

added a few ministers recently—a wise and salutary measure, but of very limited power. And this is nearly all that the State has done. Parliamentary churches, indeed, have been raised to the number of 54, containing 66,511 sittings; but the funds provided for these have been supplied chiefly by individual zeal, so that they can not fairly be ascribed to the State, which merely aided in their erection. However, let them be ascribed to the union. Then, between 1800 and 1841, the union, which ought to have provided 1898 additional ministers for the people, has added 54. It ought to have provided for 1,899,271; it has provided for 54,000, leaving 1,845,271 without ministers. The manufacturing districts are sometimes represented as in a pitiable state of spiritual destitution: they would certainly have been so if the union alone had supplied their wants. Out of a population of 907,834 in 1801, the State then left 737,000 without ministers, and since that time has merely aided in supplying 54 more, while the population has grown to 2,069,271, thus leaving 1,845,000 without ministers.

But individual zeal has done what the union left undone. Fettered by many restrictions, Christians within the Establishment, though under the bondage of the State, have added in the last forty years 143 churches, and therefore 143 ministers, to these districts, and have thus diminished the number of those without ministers by 143,000. The numbers within these two districts provided with ministers by the Establishment is 367,000; and the number left by the Establishment unprovided is 1,702,271. All that the union has done, aided by individual zeal within the Establishment, is to furnish ministers to less than one-fifth of the population, leaving four-fifths without pastors.

But the zeal of the evangelical free churches has done much to provide themselves with pastors, as may be seen by the following tables.—(*See Tables*, p. 267.)

From these tables it appears that the evangelical free churches of the cotton and woolen districts have done far more than the Establishment to meet the wants of the population. Assuming that there is one minister to each

Number of the Chapels of Three Evangelical Denominations in the Cotton District of Lancashire.

Denomination.	Churches and Chapels.	Sittings.	Sunday Schools.	Sunday School Teachers.	Scholars.
Baptists	68	28,885	59	1,520	10,868
Independents	92	57,496	108	3,556	30,206
Wesleyans	116	66,260	124	4,735	33,602
Free churches	276	152,641	291	9,811	73,676
Establishment	200	221,248	199	7,167	75,930
Excess of Establishment . . . . .	.....	68,607	.....	.....	2,254
Excess of free Churches	76	.....	92	2,644	

Number of the Chapels and Schools of Three Evangelical Denominations in the Woollen District of Yorkshire.

Denomination.	Churches and Chapels.	Sittings.	Sunday Schools.	Sunday School Teachers.	Scholars.
Baptists	65	30,394	71	3,473	12,700
Independents	91	59,161	108	5,043	23,714
Wesleyans	229	117,123	237	13,410	48,511
Free Churches	385	206,678	416	21,926	84,925
Establishment	167	136,736	180	5,801	40,499
Excess of the Free churches	218	69,942	236	16,125	44,426

Number of the Chapels and Schools of Three Evangelical Denominations in the Cotton and Woollen Districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Denominations.	Churches and Chapels.	Sittings.	Sunday Schools.	Sunday School Teachers.	Scholars.
Free churches	661	359,313	707	31,737	158,601
Establishment	367	357,984	379	12,968	116,429
Excess of Free churches	294	1335	328	18,769	42,172

church and chapel, and that one minister can take the pastoral charge of 1000 persons, the Establishment maintains 367 pastors: the evangelical free churches, 661. If the Establishment can instruct 367,000, the pastors of the free churches can instruct 661,000: if the Establishment leaves 1,702,271 unprovided with ministers, the free churches reduce that number to 1,041,271. The free churches sustain 294 more ministers than the Establishment, have established 328 more Sunday-schools, instruct 42,000 more Sunday scholars, and supply 18,000 more Sunday-school teachers; that is, their ministers and schools are nearly twice as numerous as those of the Establishment, and their Sunday-school teachers are more than twice as numerous. To these must be added twenty-four congregations of Moravians, Presbyterians, and some smaller evangelical denominations.

If by any sudden catastrophe all the ministers and schools of the Establishment in these manufacturing districts were to vanish, nearly two-thirds of the evangelical instruction now given to the people would remain.

Some, indeed, think that the dissolution of the union will materially lessen the number of Anglican ministers. But these districts at least afford no ground for such an opinion. Why should not the Anglican Churches maintain their ministers as freely as the other evangelical churches do? If three evangelical denominations now maintain 661 ministers, why should not the great Episcopal denomination, when free from the shackles of the State, maintain its 367 ministers? To allege that Anglicans are too worldly, indifferent, and selfish, to do what all other evangelical churches do, is to pronounce sentence of condemnation on the union which has made them so. But bad as the effects of the union have been, it has not so completely paralyzed the churches beneath its influence. There is no class of religionists who do not maintain ministers sufficient for their wants. The 661 ministers of three evangelical denominations afford, perhaps, a less striking proof of what individual zeal may do, when free from the shackles of the State, than the number of ministers maintained by other

religious bodies. However rationalistic or however superstitious, each sect will have its ministers; and the whole number of ministers maintained in these districts by the individual zeal of nonconformists is not 661, but 1185.

—Dissenters of all classes, including Catholics, actually maintain three times as many ministers as those maintained by the Establishment. Aided by all the authority of the State, with a State provision, and embracing all the aristocracy of the land, the Establishment has not in these districts one fourth of the whole number of the ministers of religion. Dissenting zeal sustains the other three-fourths. Who can suppose that on the arrival of the dissolution of the union, the Anglican Churches will discard their ministers, and will shake off the burden of maintaining 367 ministers, when poorer sects in the same neighborhood are maintaining 1185?

The Establishment has, in fact, already answered this question. A large part of its ministers are already maintained by their people. And the excess of the results of individual zeal over those produced by the union is far larger than the excess of dissenting ministers over those of the Establishment. On this point the following tables afford satisfactory evidence.

Comparison of the Number of Churches provided by the State for the Cotton District of Lancashire, with the Number of Churches and Chapels furnished for the same District by individual zeal.

Denomination.	Churches and Chapels.	Sittings.	Sunday Schools.	Sunday School Teachers.	Scholars.
Free churches of 3 } Denominations. }	276	152,641	291	9,811	73,676
Voluntary Anglicans	92	92,345	66	2,389	25,310
Total Voluntaries .	368	244,986	357	12,200	98,986
State Anglicans . . .	108	128,903	133	4,778	50,620
Excess of Voluntar.	260	116,083	224	7,422	48,366

Comparison of the Number of Churches provided by the State for the Woollen District of Yorkshire, with the number of Churches and Chapels provided for the same District by individual zeal.

Denomination.	Churches and Chapels.	Sittings.	Sunday Schools	Sunday School Teachers.	Scholars.
Free churches of 3 } Denominations }	385	206,678	416	21,926	84,925
Voluntary Anglicans	51	32,426	45	1,450	10,124
Total Voluntaries .	436	239,104	461	23,376	95,049
State Anglicans . . .	116	104,310	135	4,351	30,375
Excess of Voluntar.	320	134,734	326	19,025	64,674

Comparison of the Churches furnished by the State for the Cotton and Woollen Districts, with the Churches and Chapels furnished for the same District by individual zeal.

Denomination.	Churches and Chapels.	Sittings.	Sunday Schools.	Sunday School Teachers.	Scholars.
Voluntaries of } Lancashire. . . }	368	244,986	357	12,200	98,986
Voluntaries of } Yorkshire . . . }	436	239,104	461	23,376	95,049
Total Voluntaries..	804	484,090	818	35,576	194,035
State Anglicans } in Lancashire. }	108	104,310	133	4,778	50,620
State Anglicans } in Yorkshire.. }	116	104,310	135	4,351	30,375
Total State An- } glicans }	224	233,213	268	9,129	80,995
Excess of Voluntar.	580	250,877	550	26,447	113,040

The foregoing tables show that individual zeal in four evangelical denominations has already furnished to the manufacturing districts three times more ministers, schools, and school-teachers, than those which are directly or indirectly supplied by the State; and when the Anglican churches shall be separated from the State, a very small part of the evangelical instruction now given to those districts would be affected by it; and if all the ministers supported by the State were to vanish with the State salaries, three-fourths of the ministers of those four great evangelical denominations would still remain to preach Christ to the people, of which 143, that is nearly one-fifth, would be ministers of free Anglican Churches. But as 143 Anglican Churches now maintain their ministers without aid of the State, there can be no doubt that the 224 churches whose ministers are now maintained by the State would, at the dissolution of the union, begin to maintain their ministers as the rest do. Already the number of Anglican ministers maintained by the people is 143, and the total number of ministers maintained by the people is 1328, while those maintained by the State are only 224. It is inconceivable that 224 Anglican congregations would disgrace themselves by remaining without ministers and without public worship, though probably the richest congregations in the manufacturing districts, while 1328 congregations, poorer than themselves, maintain their ministers and schools, and at the same time raise funds to send missionaries to the heathen. It is, on the contrary, probable that as soon as the State's shackles are removed a larger number of ministers than at present, would be furnished to those important districts.

Lastly, I have assumed throughout that the fifty-four parliamentary churches and their ministers have been furnished by the union; but this assumption is erroneous. In almost all cases the churches have been built chiefly by voluntary contributions, and the ministers are chiefly maintained by the people, so that these fifty-four churches ought properly to be added to the number furnished by individual zeal, and leave only 170 out of the 1028 congregations of

four evangelical denominations—that is, less than one-fifth of the whole number—to be at all affected by the dissolution of the union.

Lastly, let us compare the number of ministers which has been provided by the State with that which has been furnished by individual zeal for the metropolis.

The following page contains a table made after minute inquiries and published by the committee of the London City Mission in their Magazine for January, 1843.

This table enables us to judge respecting the neglect of the metropolis by the State. The whole population is 2,022,384: but to learn the proportion of the State ministers to the wants of the population, we must subtract the population of “the City” from that of the modern metropolis. Within the City there is a large supply of State ministers; but as they confine their ministrations entirely to their own parishes, and their influence is not felt beyond the City walls, to include them in any survey of the supply of public instruction for the modern metropolis would only deceive. Subtracting, then, all the City items from the account, the churches and chapels of the modern metropolis stand thus: The population is 1,967,758; the parishes are 92; the Anglican churches and chapels, 290; Anglican sittings, 318,944. Dissenting chapels are 426; dissenting sittings, 231,618; of which 88,716 belong to the Independents, 8359 to the Presbyterians, 44,834 to the Baptists, and 54,328 to the Methodists. The sittings of the four denominations are 196,247, and those of all denominations, 550,462. Assuming that every parish-church and every district-church has two ministers, we can approximate to the number of Anglican ministers. The parishes being 92 in number, and the proprietary chapels about 50, the number of the district churches is $290 - 142 = 148$. Hence the Anglican ministers are $2 \times 92 + 2 \times 148 + 50 = 530$: and the Establishment provides for the instruction of 530,000 out of 1,967,758; leaving 1,437,758, *i.e.* two-thirds of the whole population, without ministers. This supply of Christian ministers can not be ascribed wholly to the union. For, first, we must subtract the

Table of the Number of Churches and Chapels in the Metropolis, January, 1843.

District	Parishes.	Population.	Anglican Churches.	Anglican Sittings.	Dissenting Churches.	Dissenting Sittings.	Independents.	Presbyterians.	Baptists.	Metho- dists.	Four Denomi- nations.	All Denomi- nations.
City.....	98	54,626	60	32,346	21	18,610	4,600	1,000	1,400	150	7,150	50,956
City without the Walls	10	70,448	13	15,397	20	10,400	4,140	700	1,000	2,760	8,600	25,797
Southwark	6	98,668	15	12,700	26	14,360	2,290	....	6,440	4,030	12,760	27,060
Westminster.....	10	222,043	36	39,982	35	20,708	10,460	1,970	2,720	660	15,810	60,690
Out-parishes within the Bills of Mor- tality.....	22	905,538	100	119,212	187	110,280	42,730	2,100	21,899	28,445	95,174	229,492
Out-parishes with- out the Bills of Mortality	5	360,113	46	58,255	53	31,242	7,438	2,319	5,735	9,663	25,155	89,497
Metropolitan Villages	39	310,948	80	73,398	105	44,628	21,658	1,280	7,040	8,770	38,748	117,926
Metropolis	190	2,022,384	350	351,290	447	250,228	93,316	9,369	46,234	54,478	203,397	601,418
Metropolis, exclusive of the City	92	1,967,758	290	318,944	426	231,618	88,716	8,369	44,834	54,328	196,247	550,462

ministers of proprietary chapels who are not maintained by the State, but by the people ; and next, we must make large deductions from the State supply in the item of the district churches. These churches have, for the most part, been raised by voluntary contributions ; many of them having very small endowments, their ministers depend mainly on the pew-rents ; and their curates are furnished in many instances by the Pastoral Aid and the Curates' Aid Society : so that, at least, one-half of the ministers of district churches are not maintained by the State, but by individual zeal. When these subtractions are made, the number of ministers supported by the State appears to be $530 - 50 - 148 = 332$. All that the union has done for the metropolis is to furnish 332 ministers for 1,967,758 souls. It affords ministers to 332,000 persons, and leaves 1,635,758 persons ; *i. e.* more than four-fifths without ministers. It ought to furnish one minister for every 1000 of the population ; it does furnish one for each 5926.

The importance of the metropolis can scarcely be exaggerated. Within it 2,022,384 persons are gathered together, whose number is increasing at the rate of 30,000 annually. Its population already equals that of the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Chester, Cornwall, Cumberland, Dorset, Durham, and Rutland. It is already double that of Wales, and approaches that of Scotland. Here is the seat of empire ; here the queen's court gathers to it the most splendid aristocracy in the world. Here assemble the members of the imperial Parliament, who rule the vast territories of the British Crown. In its courts of law thousands of the most active and energetic minds in the kingdom are engaged in their intellectual competition for wealth and fame. Its commerce spreads out its arms to gather wealth from the whole world, and loads its merchants, bankers, brokers, and traders of every description, with princely fortunes. From it issues a multifarious literature to elevate or to degrade, to enlighten or to pervert, to bless or to curse, the whole family of man. Every town and village of the kingdom pore over its newspapers. To it, as to the center of fashion, of gayety, of

refinement, of knowledge, and of benevolence, myriads of educated persons come to seek the enjoyments congenial to their tastes, while foreigners from every land visit it, to study our institutions, or to criticise our manners.

On the other hand, there is much to corrupt it. It offers unlimited indulgence and infinite luxury to enfeeble and vitiate the wealthy ; for whom dissipating amusements succeed each other so rapidly as to make an indolent and worthless life seem busy ; and oppress with fatigue those whose only business is to do nothing. Among the working classes, myriads who crave excitement in the brief intervals of exhausting toil are demoralized by gin-shops, tea-gardens, and low theaters, by Sunday newspapers and Sunday excursions, by Socialist lectures and by infidel magazines ; and, above all, a hopeless poverty, which has steeped multitudes to the very lips, has made them regardless of religion, loyalty, character, and life itself.

There is no place in the world which more needs earnest ministers and earnest churches, or where their exertions would be more effective. What an influence might London exert on the world if there were only one earnest and enlightened minister to each thousand persons ; if rich and poor, princes, nobles, senators, lawyers, editors of newspapers, authors, merchants and men of business, mechanics and laborers, visitors from every county, and foreigners from every land, could find here a thousand heart-stirring preachers, and a thousand congregations, whose piety, zeal, and brotherly-kindness, might recall the experience of the church at Jerusalem when the grace of God made it a praise in the earth !¹

Yet, for this unrivaled city, the State, professing to provide for its spiritual wants, maintains, directly and indirectly, 430 ministers, 98 of whom it orders to confine their ministrations to 54,000 persons within the City walls, and assigns to the remaining 332 the charge of 1,967,758 souls.

Such a distribution of ministers reduces the parochial system to an absurdity ; and makes the Establishment itself, with respect to the metropolis, a mere delusion.

¹ Acts ii. 41-47 ; iv. 31-37.

What can 332 ministers do for 2,000,000? What do they accomplish in fact? Chosen by patronage, independent of their people, with a discretionary power to do almost as little as they please of a spiritual kind, do they lead the metropolis to Christ? Will they ever? Can they, or their successors, to the judgment-day?

Individual zeal, however, has done something toward the supply of ministerial instruction withheld by the State. The sittings of all dissenters in 426 chapels, exclusive of the City, are 231,618, of which 196,247 are the sittings of four evangelical denominations. The sittings, then, of these denominations, being five-sixths of the whole number of dissenting sittings, the number of their ministers will be about five-sixths of the whole number of dissenting ministers, including Catholic priests; and assuming that there is one minister to each chapel, the ministers of these four denominations are about five-sixths of $426 = 355$. Thus we have 355 ministers of four evangelical denominations, and 198 Anglican ministers maintained by individual zeal for the modern metropolis. The State maintains 332 ministers; the Establishment maintains 530; and individual zeal maintains 553. Individual zeal maintains 23 ministers more than the Establishment, and 221 more than the State.

If the union were to be dissolved, 553 ministers of the metropolis out of 885 would be unaffected by it; and there can be no doubt that 92 parishes and 74 district churches would easily maintain the 332 ministers who are now partly maintained by the State. What is afforded by dissenters of every class, by Unitarians and by Roman Catholics, the Anglicans, who are the richest of all classes, would not be too poor or too niggardly to accomplish.

We learn by the fact above stated, that individual zeal has done much more than the State for the diffusion of religious knowledge in the metropolis and in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire: similar results are found in other great towns and populous districts of the country. But both the State and individual zeal have manifestly failed fully to evangelize the population. If there are 885

ministers in five evangelical denominations for the metropolis, exclusive of the City, these, being a supply of ministers for 885,000, leave $1,967,758 - 885,000 = 1,082,758$, without ministers. And the effect of this is worse than appears at first sight. For since the pastoral charges of the ministers of the parish churches and the district churches extend not to 480,000, whom they could, in a measure, superintend; but to the 1,967,758, who are wholly beyond their superintendence, this throws upon these ministers such a mass of ecclesiastical business in the form of marriages, baptisms, burials, registrations, vestry meetings, charity schools, &c., &c., that little time is left for pastoral intercourse with their people; and as each of these 480 ministers has undertaken to be the pastor of 4099 souls, among whom the fraction of his time saved from this load of surplice duty is to be distributed, the result is, that he almost entirely ceases to be a pastor, that the pastoral relation in the civic parishes of the Establishment is no more. London has not 480 Anglican pastors, but 480 preachers and readers, of whom scarcely any can be pastors at all. The scriptural idea of a church and a pastor has almost vanished from the Establishment in all our great towns.

Under these circumstances, how anxiously ought the State, in the discharge of its episcopate, to have facilitated the erection of places of worship by individual zeal, and encouraged both Episcopalians and dissenters to maintain other ministers, and to gather new churches from among the untaught myriads.

Instead of which it has discouraged both. I need not repeat what has already been said of the hindrances which the existence of an Establishment creates to the multiplication of dissenting congregations. It is obvious that the fear of being esteemed schismatics, of being expelled from fashionable society, of being degraded and proscribed, of being injured in business, and impeded in professional efforts, with other similar consequences of association with dissenters, must confirm many Anglicans in a stiff, unexamining resolution to have nothing to do with dissent.

Dissenters, therefore, labor to extend the knowledge of Christ under great disadvantages. Meanwhile the union has still more effectually checked individual zeal within the Establishment itself. Some persons, who think that the State is bound to supply ministers to the whole population, view with jealousy every voluntary effort as tending to diminish the responsibility of the government. Others are backward to contribute to the maintenance of ministers, because they think that a part of the enormous episcopal and cathedral property possessed by the Establishment ought to be appropriated to that object.

But the barriers to individual zeal created by the union are more formidable than these.

1. However large a parish may be, and however negligent its rector, no portion of his parishioners can form themselves into a distinct church except by becoming dissenters. By 1 and 2 Victoria, cap. 107, it is lawful for her majesty in council to direct, by an order in council, the division of the parish into separate parishes; but five thousand parishioners, whose legal pastor may be an ungodly man, or so loaded with business that he is no pastor at all to them, can not choose a minister for themselves, however willing they may be to support him. The privy-council may enable the bishop or the patron to set a new rector over them; but they have not the smallest power to secure a pastor for themselves.

2. When the privy-council is willing to allow a parish to be divided, and the people are anxious to build a new place of worship, the bishop may hinder the whole proceeding by refusing to consecrate it. "For albeit churches and chapels may be built by any of the queen's subjects, yet, before the law takes knowledge of them to be churches or chapels, the bishop is to consecrate or dedicate them."¹

3. Should the bishop be willing to consecrate, he can not do it until the building is adequately endowed.² A thousand persons, without a minister, and without public worship, in a poor district, may, by vast exertions, raise two or three thousand pounds for a new building; and their

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 322.

² Ib. p. 323.

zeal and earnestness may secure a competent income to any pious pastor who may minister to them, but unless they can raise another thousand for an endowment, they must renounce their project, and remain without a minister.

4. But why should they not worship in an unconsecrated building? 1. No unconsecrated building can be employed for Anglican worship without the bishop's license.¹ 2. No clergyman can be admitted to officiate in such building without the bishop's license.² 3. The bishop has an absolute discretion to withhold his license from whom he will.³ 4. When the bishop has given his license, he may withdraw it when he will without formal process of law.⁴ As, therefore, the privy-council may hinder the erection of a district church, and the law prevents the consecration of any building without endowment, so the bishop has the legal power to prevent the employment of an unconsecrated building; and, if he be a worldly man, unwilling to see an evangelical minister in his diocese, may extinguish their efforts to obtain such a minister, whether for a consecrated or unconsecrated place.

5. But suppose the chapel to be built and the bishop willing to license, the law forbids the people to nominate their minister. "Whenever a chapel-of-ease is erected, the incumbent of the mother church is entitled to nominate the minister, unless there is a special agreement to the contrary which gives a compensation to the incumbent of the mother church."⁵ The rector may be a man without religion, he may have done nothing to raise the chapel, the persons whose zeal raised it may disapprove of his doctrine, but he has the right, notwithstanding, to appoint for them a pastor whose doctrine they may condemn, and in whose character they can feel no confidence.

6. Indeed they can not reach this point without his consent. In order to authorize the erecting of a chapel-of-ease, the joint consent of the diocesan, the patron, and the incumbent, are all required. "A chapel for the perform-

¹ Burn, i. 322, can. 71.

² Ib. ii. 61, can. 48, 36.

³ Ib. i. 156^c, ^d m, q.

⁴ Ib. ii. 74, 75; i. 306^b.

⁵ Ib. i. 305.

ance of public worship," said Sir John Nicholl, "can not be opened without consent of the bishop, the minister of the parish, and I think the patron of the living."¹ Either one of the three upon any caprice, or any view of self-interest, may thus deprive the people of their plain right to assemble for worship, unless they consent to quit their own communion.

7. Should the people, disregarding the legal difficulty, build their chapel without leave of the bishop, patron, and incumbent, no Anglican minister would dare to preach to them therein, however they might desire it. "By law no persons can procure divine service to be administered without the consent of the incumbent and the license of the bishop; and the person officiating without such consent is liable to ecclesiastical censures." "For there is no general principle of ecclesiastical law more firmly established than this, that it is not competent to any clergyman to officiate in any church or chapel within the limits of a parish without consent of the incumbent."²

8. The people have still the resource left of gathering into private houses, and in those populous parishes where there is really no pastor, and where thousands remain untaught, they might invite pious ministers to meet them in these small assemblies. But the State has foreseen and precluded their design, for canon 71 enacts, that "no minister shall preach . . . in any private house . . . upon pain of suspension." Christ has, indeed, commanded his ministers to preach the Gospel to every creature;³ and it is recorded of the apostles, that daily in the temple, *and in every house*, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ;⁴ but the State has enacted, that throughout England no Anglican minister shall preach Christ without license of the bishop, and without consent of the incumbent; and without similar license and consent the neglected population should not build for themselves places of worship, nor maintain for themselves pastors, nor form themselves into Christian churches. *These laws sufficiently account*

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 300; Sir J. Nicholl in Burn, vol. i. p. 306^a.

² Burn, i. 306^a.

³ Mark xvi. 16.

⁴ Acts v. 42.

for the fact, that in the metropolis alone the State has left one million of souls without pastors, and Christians look on and do nothing.

But the dissolution of the union will come, and then the legal hindrances to the introduction of new ministers, arising from patronage and from parochial monopoly, will cease. Pious members of the Anglican churches, thenceforth able to build for themselves a house of prayer wherever and whenever they will, can also call any pious minister whom they may choose, to take the pastoral office among them. Vulgar prejudices against dissent will likewise cease; and the churches of England, free from State shackles, will prove themselves not less zealous than the churches of America: London will not be less supplied with Christian temples than New York; and we shall no longer have occasion to fear the vast addition to the population, for whom Christian zeal will then provide ministers and teachers according to their wants.

SECTION III.—*Influence of the Union on the Maintenance of Ministers.*

It is not certain that the system of payment which makes the clergy most wealthy is the best system. The first ministers of Christ were poor. St. Paul worked for his maintenance at Corinth, Ephesus, and Thessalonica;¹ and other ministers in those churches would not receive a larger maintenance than the apostles. It is probable that all ministers then labored to support themselves, because the churches were generally poor; yet these churches had much grace, and their ministers, chosen by the churches and sanctioned by the apostles, were undoubtedly effective men.

When churches are poor, their ministers may be likewise poor without disadvantage: but Christ has ordained that, whether ministering to poor or rich, they should be maintained according to their needs. This he has claimed for

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 11–15; 2 Cor. xi. 7–9; 1 Cor. iv. 11, 12; Acts xviii. 1–3; Acts xx. 33–35; 2 Thess. iii. 8, 9.

them on the principle of justice : “ *Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves ; for the workman is worthy of his meat.*¹ . . . *And in the same house remain eating and drinking such things as they give ; for the laborer is worthy of his hire.*”² Paul also appeals to the justice of Christians when he asks a maintenance for their ministers : “ *If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things ?*”³ And “as thus the maintenance of those who devote their time and faculties to the service of the churches should in justice be maintained by the churches, the payment of this debt is expressly enjoined by the authority of Christ : “ *Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple ? And they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar ? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.*⁴ . . . *Let him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things.*⁵ . . . *Let the elders who rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine. For the scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn ; and, The laborer is worthy of his reward.*” These injunctions demand a maintenance for all those who are called to minister by the authority of Christ, and who have the qualifications for the ministry which his Spirit imparts ; but they neither urge the churches to give, nor entitle their ministers to expect, any thing approaching to wealth. In a civilized and rich community it is very desirable that ministers should have a liberal education, possess a good library, and be able to devote their time and their faculties to the ministry without temporal cares ; because these things are necessary for their efficiency : but these things may be had without much wealth. It is undesirable that ministers should be as rich as the richest members of their churches, or as poor as the poorest. The

¹ Matt. x. 9, 10.² Luke x. 7.³ 1 Cor. ix. 11.⁴ 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.⁵ Gal. vi. 6.

one condition would tempt them to pride, the other to servility. The one would make them self-indulgent, the other burden them with care. A middle condition is probably that in which ministers can best promote the spiritual welfare of the churches; in which a minister who lives within his income, and reserves some surplus for charity, is richer than the richest who expend beyond their means; is protected from the envy of the poor by his simplicity of life, and is shielded from the contempt of the rich by his independence, refinement, and knowledge.

It is further conducive to the welfare of the churches that the income of the minister should correspond to the circumstances of the church. Wealth raises the minister of a poor people to a condition in which neither party can fully sympathize with the other: and, on the other hand, if a church abounds in wealth, the minister, if very poor, can scarcely associate with its members on terms of equality, or visit them at their houses, or receive them at his own.

These obvious principles have been too much disregarded by the State. The total nett income of the Establishment in 1836 was 3,439,767*l.*, and, reckoning the working clergy at 12,923, this total would yield to each an income of 266*l.* But to ascertain the actual payments made to the working clergy in general, we must make large deductions from the nett income of the Establishment before we strike our average.

1. We have first to subtract the incomes of the prelates. The nett revenues of the sees as returned to the commissioners of ecclesiastical inquiry, at an average of three years ending with 1831, was as follows:—

Canterbury	£19,182
York.....	12,629
Durham	19,066
Ely.....	11,105
London.....	13,929
Winchester	11,151
<hr/>	
Total of six sees	87,062
Total of twenty-seven sees	160,292

By the 6th and 7th Will. IV. cap. 77, it was enacted that, "In order to provide for the augmentation of the incomes of the smaller bishoprics, such fixed annual sums be paid to the commissioners out of the revenues of the larger sees respectively, as shall be determined on, so as to leave an average annual income to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 15,000*l.*; to the Archbishop of York, 10,000*l.*; to the Bishop of London, 10,000*l.*; to the Bishop of Durham, 8000*l.*; the Bishop of Winchester, 7000*l.*; the Bishop of Ely, 5500*l.*; the Bishop of St. Asaph, 5200*l.*; the Bishop of Worcester, 5000*l.*; the Bishop of Bath and Wells, 5000*l.*; and that the annual incomes of the other bishops respectively be not less than 4000*l.* nor more than 5000*l.*."¹ The revenues of the poorer sees have, since the passing of the act, been augmented by means of the surplus from the richer; which, amounting to 157,000*l.*, has been paid into the hands of the commissioners.² A further sum of 92,402*l.* having been realized by the sale of certain episcopal estates, the ecclesiastical commissioners employed this sum of 249,402*l.* as follows:—

In augmenting poor sees	£106,388
On episcopal residences	143,014
Total	£249,402

The 143,014*l.* was expended on the purchase and improvement of the residences of eight of the bishops, and was distributed as follows:—

Ripon	£16,111
Bath and Wells	3,000
Oxford	6,500
Exeter	3,500
Worcester	7,000
Gloucester	23,672
Rochester	28,832
Lincoln	54,444

Total expended on eight palaces£143,014

When all the arrangements of the commissioners are completed, the whole annual expenditure of the State in

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 195^d.

² Horsman, p. 9.

support of the prelates, besides the interest of the sums spent on the palaces, will be as follows:—

Canterbury	£15,000
York	10,000
London	10,000
Durham	8,000
Winchester	7,000
Ely	5,500
St. Asaph	5,200
Worcester	5,000
Bath and Wells	5,000
19 other sees (4000 <i>l.</i>)	76,000

Total on twenty-eight sees£146,700

This must be deducted from the income of the Establishment before we can ascertain the payments made to the working clergy.

2. We must next deduct the incomes of the cathedral clergy and the cathedrals. The Dean of Durham has a nett income, exclusive of the expense of the Establishment, of 4800*l.* a year; and the chapter, of 32,160*l.* The dean of Oxford has 3113*l.*; and the chapter, 14,736*l.* The dean of Westminster has 2979*l.*; and the chapter, 17,566*l.* “The total amount of the gross annual revenues of the several cathedral and collegiate churches in England and Wales is 284,241*l.*; and the total amount of the nett annual revenues of the same is 208,289*l.*¹ By a recent act the cathedral incomes have been reduced, so that henceforth, as the prebendaries die off, each cathedral establishment will consist of a dean, whose average income is to be 1680*l.*; of four canons, whose average incomes are to be 800*l.*, and six minor canons with 150 each.”² So that the cathedrals, excluding the minor canons, will stand nearly thus:—

26 deans, at 1680 <i>l.</i>	£43,680
104 canons, at 800 <i>l.</i>	83,200
156 minor canons, at 150 <i>l.</i>	23,400

Total income of cathedral clergy£150,280

¹ M'Culloch, vol. ii. pp. 399, 411.

² Horsman, p. 27.

This sum must be subtracted from the income of the Establishment before we strike the average incomes of its working ministers.

3. We have next to subtract, before we can make an average of the incomes of the great majority of the working clergy, the incomes of some of the richer benefices. Some of these are as follows :—

954	have incomes from	£500	to	£750
323	"	750	to	1,000
134	"	1,000	to	1,500
32	"	1,500	to	2,000
13	"	2,000	to	3,000
3	"	3,000	to	4,000
1	"			4,843
1	"			7,306

Thus 1461 have incomes varying from 500*l.* to 3000*l.* and upward; and, if we take their average income as 700*l.*, the aggregate of their annual incomes is 1,022,700*l.*

These three items, if added together, are large :—

The revenues of 28 prelates	£146,700
" 286 deans and canons	150,280
" 1461 incumbents.....	1,022,700
<hr/>	
" 1619 bishops and clergy	£1,319,680

4. It will be further convenient for our examination to separate a fourth class, whose incomes are above the average. There are 830 incumbents with incomes from 400*l.* to 500*l.*; 1326, with incomes from 300*l.* to 400*l.*; 1979, with incomes from 200*l.* to 300*l.*; and then there are 4135, whose incomes vary from 200*l.* to 500*l.* If we take the average of their incomes at 300*l.*, their aggregate amounts to 1,240,500*l.*

If we add to this the aggregate incomes of the three previous classes, which together amount to 1,319,680*l.*, these sums together make 2,560,180*l.*, and subtracting this amount from 3,439,767*l.*, which we have seen to be the income of the Establishment, we find that the remaining sum to be distributed among the remainder of the clergy is 879,587*l.*

5. There remain 4882 incumbents, among whom the sum of 879,587*l.* is to be divided, which would yield to each an average income of 180*l.* But this is indeed above the real average, for 297 have beneath 50*l.* per annum, 1629 have beneath 100*l.*, and 1602 have beneath 150*l.*, while 1354, alone, have between 150*l.* and 200*l.* The average of even 150*l.* must be beyond the truth.

To these poor incumbents must be added 5230 poorer curates, whose salaries average 81*l.*, the aggregate being only 423,630*l.* These two classes together amount to 10,112, and as the whole number of working clergy are only 12,923, they compose more than three-fourths of the working clergy. These together receive about 732,300*l.* $\times 423,630*l.* = 1,155,030*l.*$ But, as we have seen, 1619 clergymen receive 1,319,680*l.*, *i. e.* 1691 clergymen receive more from the State than 10,112 who do nearly all the work. 1619 clergymen, who have got the great prizes of the Establishment, have an average of 808*l.*; and 10,112 of the working clergy have an average of 114*l.* The 1619 have salaries from the State seven times larger than their more laborious brethren.

The inequalities in the favors of the State are still more remarkable when seen in detail. In the diocese of Gloucester, where 23,000*l.* was spent upon the palace, there are 97 livings under 100*l.* a year. In Lincoln, where 54,000*l.* have been expended on the palace and its grounds, there are 218 benefices under 100*l.* a year; and in the eight dioceses, on which the commissioners spent 143,000*l.* upon the eight palaces, there are 502 clergymen whose official incomes are severally less than 100*l.* a year.¹ As the amount of the incomes of these 502 clergymen when taken together is 50,200*l.*, the State spent more than twice the income of 502 ministers upon these eight houses. Each house cost on the average 17,876*l.*; each swallowed up one year's income of 178 ministers in those dioceses; and although each of those prelates already possessed revenues, the arrangements of the commissioners have raised each to 4000*l.*, equal to 40 of their incumbents. Facts like these

¹ Horsman, pp. 14, 15.

led Mr. Sydney Smith to say, with some exaggeration, but also with some truth, "Why is the Church of England to be nothing but a collection of beggars and bishops? the right reverend Dives in the palace, and Lazarus in orders at the gate, doctored by dogs and comforted by crumbs?"¹

While, however, the commissioners were building or repairing the bishops' palaces, they were also augmenting the poorer livings in these dioceses. Yet, their aid was such as only to bring into more glaring contrast the preference of the State for its prelates. They spent on the palaces 143,000*l.*, they doled out to the pauper clergy, as Mr. Horsman terms them, 5259*l.*; that is, they spent twenty-seven times as much upon the palaces as upon the pastors. The cases of the 502 pastors in the eight dioceses have unhappily too many parallels in other places; 10,000 out of 13,000 working clergy having, on an average, under 114*l.* per annum.

This poverty, inflicted on the pastors by the union, is the more noxious, because the union secures the least payments to those who ought to receive the largest. Rich pastors to poor congregations can scarcely be brothers among brethren. How can the tenants and laborers, who make up the church of which a squire in orders is pastor, feel toward him as brethren to a brother? Much more readily would they trust and love a pastor who with equal piety should be nearer to the level of their condition. For similar reasons a very poor pastor has to struggle with great difficulties in an opulent city and with a rich congregation. Great talent, great grace, and resolute determination to avoid all debt, may enable him to surmount them all as Paul did at Corinth; but wealth is so much valued in this country that a very poor pastor can scarcely minister to a rich people as a brother to brethren, and except in rare cases would be placed as disadvantageously as a rich pastor among a poor people.

Now the State by its union with the churches has created both these evils. Its rich pastors are often among the poor, and its poor pastors are among the rich. The

¹ Horsman, p. 15.

6681 parishes, which have under 300 souls in them probably comprehend by far the larger number of 1461 pastors who have from 500*l.* to 3000*l.* per annum. On the other hand, the payment of the State to its city ministers may be judged from the following statements in the last report of the Pastoral Aid Society. "The Society now aids 301 incumbents who have under their care an aggregate population of 2,077,703 souls, or each on an average 6902. The average income of these incumbents is about 200*l.*, while 154 of them have no parsonage-houses."¹ "The committee during the year have made twenty new grants." "The aggregate population of the districts to which these new grants have been made is 152,218, which number gives an average of about 8000 to each incumbent, while the average amount of their incomes is only 164*l.*, and thirteen of them are without parsonage-houses."² "The committee have now before them a list of fifty-six applications." "The average population under the charge of the applicants is 5688 to each; the average amount of their incomes is 183*l.*, and 44 of them are without parsonage-houses."³ These 301 pastors, whose incomes average 200*l.*, among the merchants, manufacturers, and shopkeepers of the great towns, and the 1461 pastors whose incomes vary from 500*l.* to 1000*l.* among poor villagers, must find it almost equally difficult to be as brethren among brethren.

By 6 and 7 William IV., the income of the archbishop of Canterbury is reduced to 15,000*l.*; and the union, by the aid of individual zeal has secured 200*l.* per annum to each of 301 pastors, who have under their care 2,077,703 souls, affording an average of 6902 to each. The income, therefore, of the archbishop equals the income of 75 of these incumbents, and swallows up as much as the State has afforded for the spiritual instruction of 517,650 souls.

The State has allotted 60,700*l.* per annum to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, with the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Ely, and St. Asaph; and with the aid of individual zeal it has afforded 60,200*l.* per

¹ Report, p. 24.

² *Ib.* p. 26.

³ *Ib.* p. 28.

annum to 301 pastors, who have charge of 2,077,703 souls. It has given the same sum to seven prelates that it has given to the pastors of two millions of the people; and while it has given palaces to the prelates, it has not given a cottage to 154 of these pastors.

These figures show that in the event of the dissolution of the union, this country will probably maintain a number of pastors not much less than the number of its effective pastors at present, and will afford them as good an income.

The number of the working clergy at present is 12,923, of whom 2871 receive incomes varying from 200*l.* upward. But as 5230 curates receive an average income of 81*l.*, and 4882 incumbents receive an average income of 150*l.*, there are 10,112 pastors who receive altogether annually $423,630*l.* + 732,300*l.* = 1,155,930*l.*$, which yields an average income to each of 114*l.*

It is highly improbable that the Anglican Churches, after the dissolution of the union, will fail to maintain 10,112 pastors at an average income of 114*l.*

Assuming that one-fourth of the population dissent from the Establishment, and that another fourth, through the long neglect of the Establishment, have sunk into irreligious habits, and would make no sacrifice for the maintenance of Christian ministers, there remain eight millions of Anglicans; and if these should maintain 10,112 pastors at an average cost of 114*l.* for each, or of 1,155,930*l.* for all, this would allow one pastor to every 791, at a cost of three shillings to each.

Have we reason to think that the Anglican Churches, when freed from the shackles of the State, will make the sacrifice?

Assuming, as before, that evangelical dissenters amount to four millions, who maintain 7900 ministers, we find that they maintain, on an average, one minister for every 506 souls.¹ The salaries of these ministers vary from 50*l.* to 600*l.*, and the average is taken by Mr. Conder at 110*l.*² This sum, divided among 506 persons, assigns four shillings and a fraction to each. Four millions, therefore, of evan-

¹ See p. 247. ² Conder's "View of all Religions," p. 422.

gelical dissenters in England and Wales maintain 7900 ministers, with average salaries of 110*l.*, at an average cost of four shillings to each member of their congregations. If eight millions of Anglicans, when severed from the State, shall do as much, they will maintain just twice that number of ministers at the same salary; that is, they will maintain 15,800 at a salary of 110*l.*; whereas the State now maintains only 13,000, of whom 10,000 have only an average salary of 114*l.*

The members of the Free Church of Scotland, who form about one-fourth of the whole population of Scotland, and are about 657,239 in number, maintain above 700 ministers. These ministers received in the last year (1847-8) 80,959*l.* from their common fund, which yielded 115*l.* to each. The collections for congregational objects further amounted to 71,850*l.*, from which additions were made to the stipends of many of the pastors; and the whole sum raised within the year for religious objects, by the churches collectively, was 221,589*l.*, which affords an average of 316*l.* to each minister. Very few of the aristocracy of Scotland belong to the Free Church; but 657,239 of the middle and poorer classes maintain for themselves 700 pastors, or one pastor to each 938 members, at a cost of six shillings to each member. If eight millions of Anglicans, when free from the shackles of the State, should do as much, being twelve times as numerous, they could maintain 16,800 ministers, at an average salary of 115*l.*, which is more than the present average salary of 10,000 Anglican ministers, and would raise, besides 43*l.* for other religious objects in each of the 16,800 congregations: a supply of instruction vastly beyond that which is now afforded by the Establishment.

The experience of the United States, where the maintenance of Christian ministers is left, as it ought to be, by the State to the Christian churches, is similar to that of the free churches of England and of Scotland. The number of hearers in four evangelical denominations being 13,885,000 sustain 14,931 regular ministers, besides local preachers: that is, one minister for every 925 hearers.

Respecting the support of these ministers, Mr. Baird writes as follows :—"The clergy of all evangelical denominations, with two exceptions, receive paid salaries from their people, and are expected to devote themselves to their proper vocation. The exceptions are a part of the Baptist ministers, and all the Quaker preachers."¹ "Few, if any, of them receive salaries that would enable them to live in the style in which the wealthiest of their parishioners live; their incomes are not equal to those of the greater number of lawyers and physicians. . . . There are few, if any, of them who, with economy, can do more than live upon their salaries. Yet, on the other hand, the greater number are able, with economy, to live comfortably and respectably. In New England, if we except Boston, the salaries of the Congregational, Episcopalian, and Baptist pastors are, in the largest towns, from 800 to 1200 dollars; in the villages and country churches they vary from 300 or 400 to 700 or 800, besides which the minister sometimes has a house and a few acres of land, and receives a good many presents."² "The salaries in the largest and wealthiest churches of the principal cities are handsome: 1500 dollars, 1800, 2000, 2500, are the sums commonly given, and in a few cases 3000, 3500, and even 4000." "As it is, they are enabled to live, with great economy, in comfort; and a faithful pastor will nowhere be allowed to starve. In no country of the world are ministers more respected by the people. Many of them belong to families of the first rank; and as they can, at least, give their families a good education, their children are almost invariably prosperous, and often form alliances with the wealthiest and most distinguished families in the country."³

When, therefore, the Anglican churches shall be freed from their bondage to the State, if they shall do as much as is done for the cause of God by the American churches, they will maintain in comfort one minister for every thousand hearers; that is, 8000 ministers, besides numerous local preachers. If they do as much as the members of the Free Church of Scotland, they will maintain 16,800

¹ Baird, p. 403.² *Ib.*³ *Ib.* pp. 304-306.

ministers at the same average salary as is now paid by the State to 10,000 out of 13,000 of the working clergy, namely, 115*l.*; and if they do as much as the free churches of England, they will maintain 15,800 at an average salary of 110*l.*, besides raising large contributions for schools, missions, and other works of Christian benevolence.

To allege that the Anglican Christians will not manifest the same liberality as Americans, Scotchmen, and English dissenters, is to condemn the Establishment to eternal shame. Has it, then, so withered up the charity of its members, so blunted their sense of duty, so stupefied them with religious indifference and selfish love of money, that while the members of other free churches, both foreign and domestic, liberally maintain their ministers, they only would refuse? If so, it is time that the union should cease. It is a tree of deadly poison, beneath which zeal and conscience die. But bad as its influence has been, Anglicans can not be so hopelessly injured that freedom would not restore their energy. We must not judge of what they would do if free from what they do in bonds.

The members of the Free Church of Scotland, while their ministers were paid by the State, no more thought of exercising Christian liberality toward their pastors than Anglican Christians now do. But new circumstances called forth new principles. English Christians are not necessarily inferior to Scottish Christians; and let them only be emancipated from the State's golden chain, and they will soon emulate their northern brethren in liberality. Since the members of the free churches of England, Scotland, and America, maintain their ministers liberally, the Anglican churches, when free, will eventually do the same.

It is often argued that some great ecclesiastical incomes are necessary to attract men of rank and talent into the ministry, whereby the whole body of pastors is made more influential, and that the separation of the churches from the State, by destroying these larger incomes, would deteriorate the ministry. But—1. If rich livings attract men of talent and learning, they attract much larger numbers

of the weak and vicious, the idle and the worldly, who are related to patrons. 2. Men of rank and talent without piety are not called to the ministry by Christ, and are unable to fulfill its duties. The business of a minister is to convert sinners and to build up Christians ; but how can those who are unconverted do either the one or the other ? 3. Men of rank and talent, if they are called by God to the ministry, being animated by zeal for God and charity toward men, will enter it if it entails poverty, as readily as if it promises wealth. 4. Free churches attract, on the whole, more talent to the ministry than establishments, because patronage, by advancing worthless relatives over the heads of men of the highest worth, sentences the latter class to neglect and obscurity ; but churches ever choose for their pastors those from whose ability and zeal they can derive the greatest advantage. Able and zealous men are also more likely to choose the ministry in free churches, because in them they are more likely to fill important spheres of action in city congregations. And if we have able and zealous ministers, why should we regret it if there are none of rank and wealth ? It is thought that without rank and wealth Christian ministers will lose their influence over the higher classes ? Exactly the reverse is the truth. Can any sincere man think that ecclesiastical wealth at this moment makes any clergymen effective evangelists ? How many noblemen, rich squires, members of Parliament, bankers, and merchants, at this moment, in this country, are converted to be humble and holy disciples of Christ, to live by faith, and to seek the glory of Christ in their daily life, through the exhortations and examples of prelates, deans, and rich dignitaries ? God the Spirit evidently much more works by humble pastors without wealth, both in and out of the Establishment. Bishops and other dignitaries may receive princes and nobles to their splendid hospitality ; but who can think that such baronial guests are likely to turn to God and to welcome a life of faith and self-denial through their enjoyment of a loaded table, graced though it be by the intelligence and urbanity of its right reverend possessor ? Men of the stamp of John the Baptist are

much more likely to accomplish this work. Talent, learning, earnestness, strength of character, poverty—these are the things in ministers which must subdue both high and low to Christ; not palaces, or liveried servants, or sumptuous festivity. The aristocracy crowded to hear Robert Hall and Chalmers, though neither of them boasted of ancestral honors nor possessed prelatie wealth. The ablest men will always most obtain the attentions of the rich and the clever. Nothing can atone for dullness. Men will not be taught by solemn stupidity, however attractive its accompaniments. In our day teachers must be able to teach. But whatever may be the influence of a poorer body of pastors on the richer classes, a much more important question is, What is likely to be their influence on the masses? Ministers are appointed by Christ to save men's souls; and that is the best system which is calculated not to save the most wealthy, but the greatest number. Now, large ecclesiastical incomes, by exciting the cupidity of the multitude, by awakening their ready suspicions of the motives which have led their pastors to choose the ministry, and by preventing all endearing intimacy between their pastors and themselves, render rich ministers very ineffectual among the poor. The fact lies open to any one's investigation. Have the rectors of the Establishment as much pastoral intercourse with the working classes as dissenting pastors have? If it be said that ecclesiastical wealth, though not requisite to give a pastor influence with the people, is yet necessary to secure to the ministry the talent which I acknowledge to be necessary, I deny it altogether. The cost of education and the partialities of patronage now exclude young men of ability from the Anglican ministry, however rich the Establishment may be; but free churches, although much poorer, by throwing open the most important spheres of action to men of the highest qualifications, attract men of earnestness, ability, and force of character from every class. Have the parochial clergy generally as much popular ability as the pastors of free churches? Whatever may be the reader's answer to this question, Robert Hall, Foster, Pye Smith, Vaughan, Ward-

law, Harris, Sortain, Davidson, and a host of similar men, show that without baronial titles or lordly incomes men of talent will consecrate their faculties to the service of the Redeemer in the ministry.

But more than enough has been said on this subject. Since Christ, when he sent out his disciples to preach the Gospel, said to them, "*Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world,*"¹ to suppose that faithful, intelligent, and laborious ministers will not be maintained, is not merely to contradict experience, and to misrepresent Christians as destitute of liberality, zeal, or justice, but it is also to disbelieve his care and love. Since he is with those who preach the Gospel, he will certainly take care of them. God has said to each faithful minister, as he said to the Mosaic priest, "*I am thy part and thine inheritance.*"² Rich endowments are necessary to provide for a worldly, idle, and worthless priesthood, because, assuredly, Christians would not maintain *them*, but to zealous ministers they are worse than superfluous. All the disciples of Christ have received from him the following instructions and promises: "*Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? (for after all these things do the Gentiles seek :) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.*"³ If, then, all believers have a right, when they are doing their duty, to trust God for the supply of their temporal wants, surely those have more than all others permission to do so, who have renounced the lucrative secular employments which they might have sought, in order that they might devote themselves to the more immediate service of Christ. But, indeed, so little, in the opinion of some, is poverty to be dreaded by the ministers of free churches, that one of the most zealous and estimable advocates of the Establishment has argued the necessity of the Union with a view to restrain their wealth and power. "Appealing," he says, "to the strongest

¹ Matt. xxviii. 20. ² Numb. xviii. 20. ³ Matt. vi. 31-33.

affections of the human heart, hope, fear, love, conscience, gratitude, generosity—representing the sacraments of the church as generally, perhaps tempted to say absolutely, necessary to salvation, and themselves as the only persons by whom those sacraments can be administered, it is beyond all question, that unless subjected to some regulating restriction from without, *they will, they must, in process of time, and from the bulk of mankind, obtain an extravagant power and an enormous wealth.* Thus superstition will give, and avarice will receive, and ambition will abuse, until all other authority sinks before the priesthood. . . . A State endowment for the supply of the church was rendered unnecessary (by voluntary zeal in the days of Constantine); but, at the same time, and by the same means, a State enactment for the restraint of the church was rendered imperative if civil liberty was to be maintained on the earth. . . . Some such enactment is a matter of indispensable self-defense on the part of the civil ruler to ward off the prostrating power of the clergy.”¹ So that, according to this zealous advocate of the Establishment, the ministers of free churches are not likely to be too poor, but too rich; and the Union of the Anglican Churches with the State is necessary to hinder their ministers from climbing to “extravagant power,” and reveling in “enormous wealth.” Free-church ministers are likely to be paid too much; but the ministers of the Establishment to be kept under salutary restraint. We may so far accept this argument as to conclude, that free-church ministers, if sensible and faithful men, will not often be left in want.

SECTION IV.—*Influence of the Union on the Doctrine taught in the Anglican Churches.*

The Gospel contained in the Bible is of absolute necessity to the world. By the knowledge and belief of it men are saved from eternal death; by it they are led to serve God, and all the highest interests of the world are inseparably associated with it. As soon as a man becomes ac-

¹ M'Neile's "Lectures on the Church," pp. 120, 121-126.

quainted with it, he is bound to maintain, defend, and promulgate it. One of the great ends of the existence of churches is, that they may maintain its doctrines in their purity, and use their combined influence to diffuse it throughout society. This is, likewise, one of the highest ends sought by the association of churches into great confederations such as the Church of England, and the union of those confederations with the governments of Europe. Why are 13,000 congregations in England, and their pastors, marshaled under a potent hierarchy, instead of each being distinct and independent? and why are their pastors maintained by the government, except because this organization and State maintenance is supposed to favor the diffusion of sound doctrine through the land? If, then, it should appear that the union maintains error rather than truth, the chief reason for the union is destroyed. If individual zeal can establish greater numbers of ministers, distribute them more wisely, pay them better, and, at the same time, be a better preservative to the purity of their doctrine, then the union should cease.

The first fact with which we meet in our examination of the effects of the union on the doctrine of the Anglican churches is that, having sanctioned various errors in the prayer-book, it gives them currency in all the parishes of the land.

When our Lord appeared to his disciples after his resurrection, he breathed on them and said to them, "*Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.*"¹ In these words he secured to them the communication of the Holy Spirit, by whom they would be inspired to declare, with unerring certainty, who are condemned by God, and who are pardoned. This was no prayer of Christ, but an authoritative communication of the Spirit, upon which the power to remit or to retain sins was consequent. From that time they acted upon that commission; and with divine wisdom and with unfaltering authority declared, not of individuals, but of classes

¹ John xx. 22, 23.

and of characters, who were forgiven and who were unforgiven. But as they could not convey the inspiration to others, they never pretended to convey to others the authority. In exact imitation of our Lord, the bishop chosen by the premier as a good schoolmaster, a clever political adherent, a safe man without strong opinions, or perhaps as a man of sense and piety, must, by order of the State, lay his hand "upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of priesthood, the receivers humbly kneeling upon their knees," and say, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed unto thee by this imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." When a deacon is ordained, the bishop uses none of the foregoing words, but says merely, "Take thou authority to execute the office of a deacon in the church of God committed to thee." The deacon does not receive the Holy Ghost from the bishop, and therefore must not remit sins, nor read the absolution in the public service; but the priest receives authority to remit sins, because he is supposed to receive the Holy Ghost.

There is little difference between the external action by which Christ communicated the Holy Spirit to his apostles, and that by which the bishop, nominated by the prime minister, is supposed to communicate the Holy Ghost to the Anglican priest, except that the apostles stood to receive the benediction of their Lord, but the priest must kneel to the prelate. The prelatic words are no prayer, because Christ's words were not so—because the words do not express a prayer—because had they been a prayer the prelate would have knelt instead of standing over the kneeling priest, and because he adds immediately to the words of power these following words, "Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven." Each Anglican priest ordained by each nominee of the government is thus stated by the prayer-book to receive the Holy Ghost and the power of remitting sins. The power communicated by the Almighty Saviour to his apostles through the gift of inspi-

ration, and which they had neither authority nor power to convey to any other persons, is thus stated by the prayer-book to be given by all prelates, converted or unconverted, to all priests, converted or unconverted, Anglo-Catholics, sportsmen, fellows of colleges, agriculturists, ordained squires, and all others who form the immense assemblage of the Anglican clergy. In the opinion of Bishop Wilberforce, "All this is blasphemous frivolity, if it be not deepest truth."¹ It being, therefore, assuredly untrue that all sorts of prelates communicate the Spirit to all sorts of Anglican clergymen, it is, according to the bishop, blasphemous; and this blasphemy the union by its prayer-book teaches to all the Anglican Churches, and compels all the clergy to declare that it is neither superstitious, nor ungodly, nor contrary to the word of God.²

As we have received a revelation from God, each believer is bound to study it, ascertain its meaning, and adhere to it. He ought, indeed, to distrust his own judgment, to weigh the opinions of the wise and good, to obtain every help, to pray, to meditate, to wait; but eventually to let no one intervene between God and him, and to maintain no doctrine which he does not see to be true from the word of God. Paul's direction is, "*Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. . . . Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.*"³ James adds, "*If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.*"⁴ Each believer is taught by the Spirit. God has given this promise to the church: "*All thy children shall be taught of the Lord.*"⁵ Our Lord has himself assured us that our heavenly Father will give the Holy Spirit to those that ask him.⁶ And according to these and similar promises all believers now may be addressed as the first Christians were by the Apostle John, "*Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things. . . . The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you; and ye*

¹ Sermon at the Ordination, 1845, p. 24.

³ Rom. xiv. 5, 23.

⁶ Isaiah liv. 13.

² Art. 36, Can. 36.

⁴ James i. 5.

⁶ Luke xi. 13.

need not that any man teach you; but the same anointing teacheth you all things."¹ Each Christian, therefore, may obtain wisdom in proportion to his study, meditation, piety, and prayer. And so may a church, which is a company of Christians; but, as individual Christians err, so do churches. The church of Antioch erred;² the churches of Galatia erred;³ the churches of Greece have erred; and the churches in connection with the Church of Rome, scattered throughout the world, have erred more grievously still. If the episcopacy of the Church of England is right, the churches of Scotland have erred. If the Congregational system of the English free churches is right, the Anglican Churches have erred. If the Baptists are right, the Independent churches of England have erred. When a church errs, a believer must disregard the false opinion of the church, and follow the teaching of the word of God. No church has received authority to direct the faith of its members, for each ought to be taught of God through his word. If any church has received such authority all churches must have received it, for Scripture has not any where assigned different degrees of authority to different churches. Opposing churches on this hypothesis must have received authority from Christ to impose upon their members the various errors into which they have fallen. Believers at Antioch and in Galatia were bound, on this supposition, to oppose St. Paul; and Roman Catholics may not question the tenets held in their churches. There can not, therefore, be any such church authority, nor is there. Not a single line in the New Testament, from Matthew to Revelation, gives any church such authority, either directly or by implication. And yet, the union, by its prayer-book, teaches as follows: "The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and *authority in controversies of faith.*"⁴ On this article, Dr. Hey, after most unwarrantably asserting that authority means influence, comments thus: "You are not expected to give up your judgment to the judgment of the church *except on doubtful and difficult*

¹ 1 John ii. 20, 27.

³ Gal. i. 6; iii. 1.

² Gal. ii. 11, 13.

⁴ Art. 20.

points."¹ On doubtful and difficult points, then, we are to give up our judgment to the judgment of the church. If we believe Scripture to teach one thing and the church declare it to teach another thing, we are to disregard what the word of God seems to establish because the church denies it, and to maintain what the word of God seems to us to condemn because the church maintains it. But to what church has Christ given this dominion over our creed? To the Church of England? Impossible. There is no such body described in Scripture—nothing approaching to it. Whatever is ascribed to the church in Scripture is not ascribed to it, but to something quite different. Which church in the New Testament in the least resembled the Church of England, formed as it is of 13,154 churches? In the New Testament there is only one universal church described, composed of all the true followers of Jesus Christ, and a multitude of local churches—the universal company of believers who will assemble in heaven, and the assembly of professed believers who assemble at any place on earth. Which of these churches has this authority to control the faith of each Christian? The universal church? But how shall we get its mind "in doubtful and difficult points?" The disputants are all within it. Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Calvinists and Arminians, Baptists and Pædobaptists—they are all within it. Each thinks he is right. Whence is the deciding voice of the universal church to issue? But since the universal church can not be meant, we must come to the local church as the seat of authority—any English church, for instance, like the church at Philippi or the church at Thessalonica. So then, "in doubtful and difficult points" a pious minister, or a thoughtful and experienced Christian, is to give up his judgment of the meaning of the word of God, because a few poor villagers who worship with him have an opposite opinion! The idea is absurd. No church, then, has this authority; and yet the union declares, by the prayer-book, that the church has it, *and compels each Anglican minister to maintain*

¹ Lectures on Divinity, by J. Hey, D.D., Norisian Professor, Cambridge.

that this declaration of the prayer-book is agreeable to the word of God.

The qualifications of a pastor appointed by Christ's authority—the only pastor which any church may lawfully receive—are thus described by an apostle: "*A bishop (that is, the pastor of a church) must be blameless, sober, of good behavior . . . apt to teach, not given to wine . . . not covetous, NOT A NOVICE; ¹ . . . a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful word.*" ² If any preacher who was unevangelical came to any place, the Christians were forbidden to receive him as a teacher into their houses. ³ Paul desired that all such might be excommunicated, ⁴ and declared them to be ministers of Satan under the guise of angels of light. ⁵ And respecting all teachers of ungodly character, however plausible their pretensions to be Christ's ministers might seem, our Lord himself said, "*Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits.*" ⁶ Could our Lord more plainly caution his disciples against listening to bad ministers because they are regularly ordained? What is the sheep's clothing but a plausible claim to be ministers of Christ? And what is the wolfish heart but the ungodliness which makes unconverted ministers the worst and most dangerous enemies of their people? Of such our Lord says all Christians should beware. But, in opposition to these passages of Scripture, the twenty-sixth article declares: "*Although in the visible church the evil be ever mingled with good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, AND DO MINISTER BY HIS COMMISSION AND AUTHORITY, WE MAY USE THEIR MINISTRY, both in the hearing the word and receiving of the sacraments.*" Openly wicked ministers, who by Christ's authority ought to be excommunicated, ⁷ are said to "minister by his authority;"

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 2-6.

² Tit. i. 5-9.

³ 2 John 9-11.

⁴ Gal. i. 8; v. 12.

⁵ 2 Cor. xi. 3-15.

⁶ Matt. vii. 15, 16.

⁷ 1 Cor. v. 1-13; 2 John 9-11; Gal. v. 12.

and when Christ commanded his disciples to beware of them, when St. John forbade all association with them, and St. Paul urged their excommunication, it is here said that "we may use their ministry." Of this doctrinal decision the twenty-eighth canon makes the following practical application: "The churchwardens, or questmen, and their assistants, shall mark, as well as the minister, whether all and every of the parishioners came so often every year to the holy communion as the laws and our constitutions do require; and whether any strangers come often and commonly from other parishes to their church: and shall show their minister of them, lest, perhaps, they be admitted to the Lord's table among others, which they shall forbid, and remit such home to their own parish-churches and ministers, there to receive the communion with the rest of their neighbors."

The article teaches that Christians should adhere to their parish clergyman, although he may be openly ungodly, against the plain directions of the New Testament; and the *union compels all Anglican ministers to declare that this is agreeable to the word of God*.¹

We find in the New Testament that baptism is a profession of faith in Christ.² Repentance and faith were always, in the apostolic churches, required in those who were admitted to baptism. By faith they became disciples of Christ; and then, by baptism, professed to be his disciples, and were united to his churches. They were first regenerated by the Spirit, and then received the sign of their regeneration. Baptism was always administered to those who were believed to be regenerate, never to the unregenerate with a view to their regeneration. It was the uniform of Christ put upon those who had enlisted as his soldiers; it was the admission into the local church of those who had previously become, by faith, members of the universal church. But the prayer-book teaches that baptism regenerates; and, requiring the Anglican ministers to

¹ Canon 36.

² See Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15, 16; Acts ii. 38; viii. 12, 36, 37; ix. 17; x. 44-48; xvi. 14, 31; xviii. 8; Eph. iv. 5, &c.

baptize all the children of the country, declares of these millions of children baptized in all the parishes of England and Wales, that they are regenerated by the Holy Spirit. By canon sixty-eight, "No minister shall refuse or delay to christen any child, according to the form of the book of common prayer, that is brought to the church to him upon Sundays or holydays to be christened . . . And if he shall refuse to christen, . . . he shall be suspended by the bishop of the diocese from his ministry by the space of three months." Almost all the children, therefore, of country parishes, and myriads of the children of populous city parishes, of all sorts of parents, are brought to be "christened."

The effect of their baptism is thus described in the twenty-seventh article, "Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it *is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church,*" &c.

It is here first asserted, that baptism is a sign of regeneration, but according to the doctrine of the church, sacramental signs are effectual, as we learn from the following question and answer in the catechism:—"Q. What meanest thou by this word sacrament? A. I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, *as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.*" And therefore the twenty-fifth article calls the sacraments "EFFECTUAL signs of grace." Since, therefore, baptism is an *effectual* sign of regeneration, it regenerates. Secondly, "By it, as by an instrument, those who receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church." Now all who receive baptism, whether they receive it rightly or not, become members of the local church. The admission into the church, therefore, which is restricted to worthy recipients, must mean a spiritual admission into the church of Christ, following the gift of the Holy Spirit, as is expressed in the following prayer for a child before baptism: "Wash him and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost, that he, being deliv-

ered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church." And since baptism is THE INSTRUMENT by which infants are thus grafted into the church, it is the instrument by which they are regenerated. Both Bishop Burnet and Dr. Hey agree in this view of the doctrine of the articles.

On the twenty-fifth article the bishop says, "A sacrament is an institution of Christ, in which some material thing is sanctified by the use of some form of words, in and by which federal acts of this religion do pass on both sides; on ours, by stipulations, professions, or vows; and on God's, by *his secret assistance: by these we are also united to the body of Christ*, which is the church . . . Federal acts, *to which divine grace is tied*, can only be instituted by him. . . . The rites, therefore, that we understand, when we speak of sacraments, are the constant federal rites of Christians, which are *accompanied by divine grace* and benediction, being instituted by Christ *to unite us to him and to his church*." On the twenty-seventh, he continues, "As for the ends and purposes of baptism, St. Paul gives us two: The one is, we are admitted to the society of Christians. . . . But a second end is internal and spiritual. Of this St. Paul speaks in very high terms, when he says, that *God has saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost*. . . . *Here then is the inward effect of baptism. It is a death to sin, and a new life in Christ*, in imitation of him, and in conformity to his Gospel. . . . There is something in it which is internal which comes from God; it is an admitting men into somewhat which depends only on God."¹

Dr. Hey is more explicit than the bishop. On the twenty-fifth he remarks, "We must not deny that sacraments give grace, *ex opere operato*." On the twenty-seventh, he adds, baptism "is also a sign of regeneration, . . . whereby, *per quod*, by which sign, the promises of God are sealed, &c., or in one word, regeneration is enacted, executed, and sealed. The particulars which follow seem to be component parts of regeneration."²

¹ Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles. Art. 25, 27.

² Hey's Lectures on Divinity. Art. 25, 27.

The language of the prayer-book, in many places, painfully confirms this false doctrine of the articles, and teaches that both children and adults are regenerated by the Spirit through baptism.

When any child is brought by its sponsors to the parish minister to be baptized, the minister is compelled by the State to pray thus: "Almighty God, . . . we call upon thee for this infant, that he, coming to thy holy baptism, may receive remission of sins by spiritual regeneration. Receive him, O Lord, as thou hast promised by thy well-beloved Son, saying, Ask and ye shall have." He then continues, to the sponsors, not to the parents, "Dearly beloved, ye have brought this child here to be baptized, ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to receive him, to release him of his sins, to sanctify him with the Holy Ghost, to give him the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting life. Ye have heard also that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised in his Gospel to grant all these things that ye have prayed for; which promise, he, for his part, will most surely keep and perform."¹ After this, by the Act of Uniformity he prays thus: "Almighty God, sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin; and grant that this child, now to be baptized therein, may receive the fullness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children." This done, the State enjoins that the minister continue as follows:—"Seeing now . . . that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks to Almighty God for these benefits." "*We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church.*" The prayer-book adds: "It is certain by God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." Not a word is said in Scripture, clearly and explicitly, about

¹ A manifestly false application of the promise, otherwise every baptized child would be regenerate, and Christians would be bound similarly to regenerate all the world.

the baptism of infants ; but the prayer-book rules it, that their baptism so certainly regenerates them that whatever happens to other infants they must be saved.

No less distinctly does the prayer-book teach, in opposition to the word of God, that baptism regenerates adults likewise, as is too apparent in the following passages from the form of baptism for such as are of riper years :

“ Dearly beloved, forasmuch as . . . our Saviour Christ saith, None can enter into the kingdom of God except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost ; I beseech you to call upon God . . . that he will grant to these persons . . . that they may be baptized with water and with the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ’s holy church.”

“ Almighty and everlasting God, . . . mercifully look upon these thy servants, wash them and sanctify them with the Holy Ghost, that they, being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ’s church.”

“ We call upon thee for these persons, that they, coming to thy holy baptism, may receive remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration.”

“ Give thy Holy Spirit to these persons, that they may be born again, and be made heirs of everlasting salvation.”

“ Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin, and grant that the persons now to be baptized therein may receive the fullness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children.”

They are then baptized ; and the minister adds, “ Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that these persons are regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ’s church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits.” So that, like the infants, these adults come to the font to be regenerated.

The Anglican child being thus spiritually regenerated by baptism, has next to be instructed in the truth by the catechism, which begins by reminding him that he has been thus regenerated, in the following terms : “ Who gave you this name ? My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism,

wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."

Being thus regenerate through baptism, and assured of his regeneration by the catechism, the Anglican child is now brought to confirmation. The directions of the minister to the sponsors at the baptism, by order of the State, were, "Ye are to take care that this child be brought to the bishop to be confirmed by him, so soon as he can say the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments in the vulgar tongue, and be further instructed in the church catechism set forth for that purpose." The prayer-book, therefore, further directs thus: "So soon as children are come to a competent age, and can say in their mother tongue the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, and also can answer to the other questions of this short catechism, they shall be brought to the bishop; and every one shall have a godfather, or a godmother, as a witness of their confirmation." In pursuance of these orders all the children of the parish learn the catechism, and then come to be confirmed; upon which the bishop is compelled by the State to say, "Almighty and ever-living God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants" (all the baptized children of the parish who can say the catechism and renew the vows), "by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins, strengthen them, we beseech thee," &c.

All the parish children being thus regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and therefore all the parishioners, who were once children, being also regenerate, the minister, at the death of each, is compelled by the union to bury him, unless the party deceased died excommunicated; and whatever was his previous ungodliness up to his last moments, he is forced to speak thus at his grave: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we commit his body to the ground . . . in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." "Almighty God, we give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world."

I once labored hard to convince myself that our Reformers did not and could not mean that infants are regenerated by baptism, but no reasoning avails. This language is too plain. Although the catechism declares that repentance and faith are prerequisites to baptism, yet the prayer-book assumes clearly, that both adults and infants come to the font unregenerate and leave it regenerate; that worthy recipients of baptism are not regenerate before baptism, but come to be regenerated; that they are unpardoned up to the moment of baptism,¹ that they are pardoned the mo-

¹ The Bishop of Worcester has, in his recent charge, correctly stated the doctrine of the church in the following terms:—

“Conceiving, as I do, that the articles of our church are the principal authority to which we ought to appeal in attempting to settle any controverted point, we will, in the first instance, refer to the twenty-seventh article upon this subject. We find there baptism described as ‘not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but also as a sign of regeneration, or new birth.’ This article, therefore, declares that regeneration, or new birth, is conferred at baptism, of which the ablution in water is the acknowledged sign. Now, it is impossible, in my opinion, to estimate justly the full effect of this article without taking into consideration, at the same time, the import of the ninth article on original sin. We, therefore, find it laid down as the doctrine of our Church, that ‘every person born into the world deserveth God’s wrath and damnation.’ It does not fall within my purpose, on the present occasion, to discuss the doctrine of original sin, or how far it may be founded upon those words of the apostle, that ‘by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation.’ Suffice it that such a doctrine is broadly laid down in the ninth article, and must therefore be acknowledged by all who have subscribed that article as the doctrine of our church. In the case, then, of infant-baptism, the effect of baptismal regeneration is to relieve infants baptized from this state of condemnation, and to confer upon them a new birth unto righteousness, ‘for, being by nature born in sin the children of wrath, they are thereby made the children of grace.’ These are the words of our ‘catechism,’ which seem distinctly to imply the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and they are further confirmed by the prayers directed to be used in both the baptismal and confirmation services. In the former, we call upon God to grant that the infant to be baptized ‘may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration, that he may be born again and made an heir of everlasting salvation;’ and, after the sacrament of baptism has been administered, we offer up our thanks to God ‘that it hath pleased him to regenerate this infant

ment after. This unscriptural doctrine of the prayer-book, as its other errors, each evangelical minister of the Church

with his Holy Spirit, and to receive him for his own child by adoption.' And in the service for confirmation, which must be considered supplemental to that of baptism, we speak of those who attend to renew the solemn vows and promises made in their names at their baptism as 'regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost.' It seems impossible, in the face of the articles of our church, and of the above expressions directed to be used in the 'catechism' and the services for baptism and confirmation, to deny that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is distinctly the doctrine of our church."—*Record*, Thursday, Sept. 14th, 1848.

The Bishop of Oxford has given his view of the doctrine in the following terms:—

"Those who were the advocates of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration held, that *in that ceremony man was first introduced to his God*; and that the guilt of his fallen nature was done away; and that there would be *continued* to him, unless he were a reprobate, the continual influxes of grace, which would lead him to salvation."—*Charge of the Bishop of Oxford, Record*, October 9th, 1848.

"Q. What is required of persons to be baptized?"

"A. Repentance whereby they forsake sin, and faith whereby they steadfastly believe, &c., &c."—*Church Catechism*.

The bishop, therefore, believes that repentance and faith, which are preliminaries to baptism, do not "introduce a man to his God." A repentant believer remains still a stranger to God with the guilt of original sin remaining on him till he is "introduced to his God" by baptism; he has then "an influx of grace;" he repented without grace, and he believed without grace, but as soon as he was baptized the influx came. Yet, after repentance, faith, and the baptismal influx of grace, he may be a reprobate still; for "there would be continued to him the continual influxes of grace *unless he were a reprobate*." If he become a reprobate under the influxes of grace, it seems that they cease; but of what use they were to him does not appear, since under their influence he grew to be a reprobate. And how is this to be understood of the infant? The infant is not a reprobate, and therefore receives "continual influxes of grace;" how long does this continue? Six years, perhaps, the child receives these influxes; at seven he becomes a reprobate, and all the influxes are withdrawn. Astonishing that six years of grace should make a child a reprobate in his seventh year, or ten years of grace make a child a reprobate in his eleventh year; or any number of years of enlightening and sanctifying grace of God end in reprobation! This may be the doctrine of the church, but where does the word of God say all this?—See Mark xvi. 16; Acts viii. 37; John iii. 16, 36; Acts xvi. 30, 31; Rom. iii. 28; Gal. iii. 26; Rom. viii. 30; 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14; 1 Pet. i. 3-5.

of England is compelled, by the thirty-sixth canon, to pronounce not contrary to the word of God; and by the Act of Uniformity, he must make himself a party to all this delusive instruction every time that he baptizes an infant or an adult, teaches the children of his parish the church catechism, or buries the corpse of an ungodly parishioner.

The foregoing errors are thus perpetuated in the Anglican Churches. No man can become a minister of the Establishment without making the following profession: "I, *A. B.*, do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled the book of common prayer," &c., &c.

He must, likewise, subscribe to the three following articles: 1. "That the queen's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, . . . as well IN ALL SPIRITUAL OR ECCLESIASTICAL THINGS or causes as temporal." 2. "That the book of common prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God." 3. "That he acknowledges all and every the articles, being in number thirty-nine, to be agreeable to the word of God."

His form of subscription is as follows: "I, *N. N.* do willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to these three articles above-mentioned, and to all things contained in them." Thus, whatever errors there may be in the prayer-book, each Anglican minister is forced to hide them from his sight, because he has declared the book to be throughout agreeable to the word of God. But, as though this was not a sufficient check to inquiry, the fourth and fifth canons enact as follow:

Canon 4. "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the form of God's worship in the Church of England, . . . contained in the book of common prayer . . . containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but by the bishop of the place, or archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of such his wicked errors."

Canon 5. "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that any of the thirty-nine articles . . . are in any part superstitious

or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated," &c. &c.

Whatever errors there may be in the prayer-book or the articles, each Anglican minister has the greatest possible temptations to persuade himself and others that they are truths. His peace, his income, his position in society, his friendships, and the maintenance of his family, all depend on his avowing his belief that the prayer-book contains in it nothing repugnant to the Scriptures, and that there is nothing in any one of the thirty-nine articles which is erroneous.

It is by the authority of Parliament that these canons, which have received the sanction of the Crown, now bind the clergy. Parliament maintains them in force, and hinders their revision; and, therefore, it is the union which represses in the ministers of the Establishment all free inquiry, and holds them down to maintain, age after age, with hopeless incapacity of progress, the errors of those great men who broke through the shackles of Romanism only to rivet on the churches the shackles of the State.

To complaints against the errors in the prayer-book, sanctioned and perpetuated by the union, it may be replied. that there is a much larger amount of truth sanctioned and perpetuated by it; that the liturgy is excellent, that the thirty-nine articles are generally sound, and that the church continues evangelical through its creeds and formularies, whatever changes of doctrine may invade society. But it seems to me puerile to exult in orthodox creeds which are disregarded by the living teachers. If our authorized books are sound, and our pastors and congregations are unsound, the churches are unsound. The use of a sound creed is to maintain soundness in the teachers; and if the teachers are unsound in contempt of it, it becomes a dead letter. The articles are generally scriptural; but the doctrine of many Anglican pulpits may be judged of by the following extracts from Anglo-Catholic writers, who number, it is to be feared, some thousands of their adherents among the clergy:—

1. "It can not be too often repeated, that if Protestantism be Christianity, Catholicism is Anti-Christianism, and of course *vice versâ*. There never was, and there never will be, charity in softening down real distinctions; open hostilities are ever a shorter road to eventual peace than hollow and suspicious alliances."—*British Critic*, July, 1843, p. 64.

2. PROTESTANTISM AND ROMANISM.—"It ought not to be for nothing, no, nor for any thing short of some very vital truth . . . that persons of name and influence should venture on the part of ecclesiastical agitators . . . an object thus momentous we believe to be the unprotestantizing of the national church."—*Ibid.* July, 1841, p. 44.

"As we go on, we must recede more and more from the principles, if any such there be, of the English Reformation."—*Ibid.* p. 45.

"I utterly reject and anathematize the principle of Protestantism as a heresy, with all its forms, sects, or denominations."—*Rev. W. Palmer, Letter to Mr. Golightly*, p. 9.

"Protestantism in its essence and in all its bearings is characteristically the religion of corrupt human nature."—*British Critic*, July, 1841, p. 27.

"The Protestant tone of doctrine and thought is essentially anti-Christian."—*Ibid.* p. 29.

"Antichrist, we know, is prophetically described as the Man of Sin, who opposeth and exalteth *himself* above . . . God. This, to be plain, is just our own notion, as we have never shrunk from avowing, of Protestantism."—*Ibid.* July, 1843, p. 65.

"We trust, of course, that active and visible union with the see of Rome is not of the essence of a church, at the same time, we are deeply conscious that in lacking it, far from asserting a right, we forego a great privilege. Rome has imperishable claims upon our gratitude, and, were it so ordered, upon our deference . . . For her sins, and for our own, we are estranged from her in presence, not in heart: may we never be provoked to forget her, or cease to love her!"—*British Critic*, July, 1841, p. 3.

3. ON THE SCRIPTURES.—"The true creed is the Catholic interpretation of Scripture, or scripturally proved tradition . . . Scripture and tradition taken together are the joint rule of faith."—*Tract 78*, p. 2.

"As to the nondescript system of religion now in fashion, that nothing is to be believed but what is clearly in Scripture

... suffice that it has all the extravagance of latitudinarianism without its internal consistency . . . Both, however, are mere theories in theology, and ought to be discarded by serious men."—*Tract* 85, p. 25.

"The structure of Scripture is such . . . that either we must hold that the gospel doctrine or message is not contained in Scripture, or, as the alternative, we must hold that it is but indirectly and covertly recorded there, under the surface."—*Ibid.* p. 27.

"So, then, we do not make Scripture the rule of our faith, but that other things in their kind are rules also; in such sort that it is not safe, without respect had to them, to judge things by the Scripture alone."—FIELD, in *Tract* 90, p. 11.

"In the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is not, on Anglican principles, the rule of faith."—*Ibid.* p. 11.

"The writers of the 'Tracts for the Times' took the true ground of an appeal to the voice of the church in all ages. It was not to supersede the use of the Scriptures; it was not even to establish tradition as the rule of faith separate from the written word . . . that they had recourse to antiquity, but it was to settle the sense of the Scriptures."—*Plain Words*, 2d edit. p. 17.

4. JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.—"When faith is called the sole instrument, this means the sole internal instrument, not the sole instrument of any kind. There is nothing inconsistent, then, in faith being the sole instrument of justification, and yet baptism also the sole instrument; nor does the sole instrumentality of faith interfere with the doctrine of works being a mean also . . . An assent to the doctrine that faith alone justifies, does not at all preclude the doctrine of works justifying also."—*Tract* 90, p. 12.

"Works done with divine aid, and in faith before justification, do dispose men to receive the grace of justification."—*Ibid.* p. 16.

"The bishop then would say, that justified Christians are accounted righteous, in consideration of a righteousness not their own; Mr. Newman, that they are accounted righteous inasmuch as they have been made so through Christ's righteousness inwrought into them."—*British Critic*, July, 1843, p. 74.

"Evangelicals . . . cleave to the soul-destroying heresy of Luther on the subject of justification."—*Ibid.* p. 33.

"The very first aggression of those who labor to revive some degree at least of vital Christianity . . . must be upon that strange congeries of notions and practices of which the Lutheran doctrine of justification is the origin and representative. Whether any heresy has ever infested the church so hateful and unchristian as this doctrine, it is perhaps not necessary to determine: none certainly has ever prevailed so subtle and extensively poisonous."—*Ibid.* Oct. 1842, p. 390.

5. THE SACRAMENTS.—"This may even be set down as the essence of sectarian doctrine . . . to consider faith and not the sacraments as the instrument of justification."—*Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 6. *Preface*.

"The sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of divine grace."—*Tracts*, vol. i. p. 4. *Preface*.

"This, then, is the characteristic mark of these two [*sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper*], separating them from all other whatever; and this is nothing, but saying in other words, that they are the only justifying rites or instruments of communicating the atonement."—*Tract* 90, p. 46.

"The two 'sacraments of the Gospel' are those which directly communicate Christ to the soul."—*British Critic*, July, 1843, p. 51.

6. BAPTISM.—"The doctrine of regeneration in baptism, the very spirit and essence of the whole teaching of the church."—*Plain Words*, p. 21.

"However frankly we may admit, and however gladly we may contemplate, that wonder of divine grace, whereby the man who has long wandered from his baptismal standing is brought back to it, we must never permit ourselves to view such cases as according to the general rule. In their way they are anomalies, wonderfully illustrative, indeed, of the long suffering of God, but not the unthwarted growth of his own plan of salvation, which, in the first instance, contemplates baptism as the beginning, and then the Christian character steadily growing out of that beginning."—*Christian Remembrancer*, May, 1843, p. 670.

"Baptism . . . confers on a child all things, and the true way of addressing such a child is not to speak to him of any new birth yet to be waited for; but tell him to go forth against evil, fresh from the water, and strong in the blessings, of his baptism."—*Ibid.* June, 1843, p. 816.

"Surely the church has not encouraged the modern habit

of dating conversion, of taking cognizance of any marked revolutionary epoch in a man's life, besides his baptism?

"*Justification*, in Anglican theology, is ruled to be the first step in the Christian life. In the thirteenth article, 'works done before justification' are explained to be equivalent to 'works done before the grace of Christ and inspiration of his Spirit,' which, at the latest, takes place at baptism."—*Ibid.* October, 1841, p. 273.

7. THE LORD'S SUPPER.—"As material bodies approach by moving from place to place, so the approach and presence of a spiritual body may be in some other way; . . . the body and blood of Christ may be really literally present in the holy eucharist, yet, not having become present by local passage, may still literally and really be at God's right hand . . . The true determination of all such questions may be this, that Christ's body and blood are locally at God's right hand, yet really present here—present here, but not here in place."—*Tract* 90, p. 56.

"This is what the Catholic church seems to hold concerning our Lord's presence in the sacrament, that he then personally and bodily is present with us in the way an object is which we call present."—*Ibid.* p. 56.

"Receiving him [Christ] into this very body, they who are his receive life."—*Dr. Pusey's Sermons*, p. 9.

"His flesh and blood in the sacrament shall give life . . . because they are the very flesh and blood which were given and shed for the life of the world, and are given to those for whom they had been given."—*Ibid.* p. 20.

"If Balaam's ass instructed Balaam, what is there fairly to startle us in the church's doctrine, that the water of baptism cleanses from sin; that eating the consecrated bread is eating his body; or that oil may be blessed for spiritual purposes?"—*Tract* 85, p. 90.

8. THE PRIESTHOOD.—"The holy feast on our Saviour's sacrifice . . . was intended by him to be constantly conveyed through the hands of commissioned persons. Except, therefore, we can show such a warrant, we can not be sure that our hands convey the sacrifice; we can not be sure that souls worthily prepared, receiving the bread which we break, and the cup of blessing which we bless, are partakers of the body and blood of Christ."—*Tract* 4, p. 2.

"The sacerdotal office in the church is the foundation of all the rest . . . If the church have a sacerdotal office, she

must necessarily have functionaries by whom to administer it . . . The priest is to be considered by his flock as standing to them in so many respects in the place of God . . . the type and representative to them of the invisible . . . Their primary office is to be the Church's functionaries in dispensing to the people her varied blessings, . . . and above all, in offering up that holy service whereby the fruits of our Lord's atonement are daily impetrated and diffused . . . throughout the church . . . The priesthood may be called the organs of the Spirit."—*British Critic*, July, 1843, pp. 50, 53, 54, 58.

"A person not commissioned from the bishop may use the words of baptism, and sprinkle or bathe with the water on earth, but there is no promise from Christ that such a man shall admit souls to the kingdom of heaven. A person not commissioned . . . may pretend to give the Lord's Supper, but . . . there is no warrant from Christ to lead communicants to suppose that . . . they will be partakers in the Saviour's heavenly body and blood."—*Tract* 35, p. 3.

9. APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.—"I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—our apostolical descent . . . The Lord Jesus Christ gave his Spirit to his apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them, and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants . . . We must necessarily consider none to be really ordained who have not *thus* been ordained."—*Tract* 1, pp. 2, 3.

"Why should we talk so much of an Establishment, and so little of an apostolical succession? Why should we not seriously endeavor to impress our people with the plain truth, that by separating themselves from our communion, they separate themselves . . . from the only church in this realm which has a right to be quite sure that she has the Lord's body to give to his people?"—*Tract* 4, p. 5.

"Do you then unchurch all the Presbyterians, all the Christians who have no bishops? . . . We are not to shrink from our deliberate views of truth and duty because difficulties may be raised about the case of such persons, any more than we should fear to maintain the paramount necessity of Christian belief because similar difficulties may be raised about virtuous heathens, Jews, or Mahometans."—*Ibid.* p. 6.

"It is not merely because Episcopacy is a better or more Scriptural form than Presbyterianism . . . that Episcopalians

are right and Presbyterians are wrong; but because the Presbyterian ministers have assumed a power which was never intrusted to them. They have presumed to exercise the powers of ordination, and to perpetuate a succession of ministers, without having received a commission to do so.”—*Tract 7*, p. 2.

“It is *beautifully expressed* in the acts of the synod of Bethlehem, which the Eastern Church transmitted to the nonjuring bishops:—‘Therefore we declare, that this hath ever been the doctrine of the Eastern Church,—that the episcopal dignity is so necessary in the church, that without a bishop there can not exist any church, nor any Christian man; *no, not so much as in name.*’—*British Critic*, April, 1842, p. 498.

“A person who denies the apostolical succession of the ministry, because it is not clearly taught in Scripture, ought, I conceive, if consistent, to deny the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, which is nowhere literally stated in Scripture.”—*Tract 85*, p. 4.

I believe the number of those who hold these false doctrines to be still increasing. A still larger number neglect or deny the doctrine of justification by grace through faith, and of regeneration by the Holy Spirit. Young men of both classes very easily obtain ordination, and when they are ordained, the union opens to them all our parishes. Were Anglican ministers dependent on the congregations for their maintenance, evangelical doctrine and personal piety would be esteemed essential to the pastor of an Anglican congregation as they now are to the pastors of Independent, Baptist, and Methodist congregations. But under the system of State patronage, all tests of spirituality become nearly impossible. What bishop ever ventures to refuse ordination to a respectable and well-educated young man because he is not evangelical, and because he affords no proof of positive piety? The law, it is true, leaves ordination to the discretion of the bishop; but were he to exercise that discretion so as to exclude all men from the ministry who do not afford evidence of personal piety, he would soon hear of it in Parliament. In fact, therefore, few bishops investigate too closely. Now and then a can-

didate is put to the literary torture, when suspected of Calvinism, or rejecting baptismal regeneration; but, for the most part, a "judgment of charity" covers all. This "judgment of charity is of most extensive application in the Anglican ministry. No bishop or presbyter hires his servant, buys or sells, seeks a school for his child, or gives his vote at an election, by the "judgment of charity." In those things they act as men of sense and business, investigate, obtain testimony, judge by facts, and avoid by all possible precautions injurious mistakes. But in their ministerial functions all is reversed; there is no investigation of facts, no conclusions gathered from experience, no precautions against error. A "judgment of charity" pronounces all the children of the parish regenerate, though successive generations, ever since the Reformation, equally pronounced regenerate, have proved themselves ungodly. The "judgment of charity" admits to the Lord's table all who choose to come, although they love the ballet of the opera and the exhibition of the polka no less than the memorials of the death of Christ. The "judgment of charity" makes the minister thank God for the death of every profligate of his parish whom he buries. The "judgment of charity" makes facile incumbents give their ready testimonials to the worth and piety of any squire's son in their neighborhood, who knows more of fishing, shooting and hunting, than he does of the Bible; and at length the same "judgment of charity" makes the bishop ordain him on the strength of those testimonials. The result is, that multitudes of unconverted men force their way into the ministry, over each of whom a bishop says, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, . . . whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained." Thenceforth introduced into the apostolical succession, they catch the exultation of the writer of the first "Tract for the Times," and with him they thus extol their new-born dignity: "We have been born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. The Lord Jesus Christ gave his Spirit to the apostles; they in

turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them ; these again on others ; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense representatives . . . Through the bishop who ordained us, we received the Holy Ghost, the power to bind and to loose, to administer the sacraments and to preach.”¹

Unsound and unconverted men being thus made priests, can easily force their way into livings. Some few bishops, of vigorous mind and impetuous temper, enamoured of power and hostile to evangelical truth, may now and then brave all the cost and trouble of refusing institution to an evangelical. One of our bishops has lately refused to institute an excellent, sound, and experienced minister, because he denies baptismal regeneration ;² but there is probably no instance of such refusal on the ground of worldliness and want of piety in the presentee. The hazards to the bishop are too great. When a bishop refuses to institute to a benefice, the patron has a remedy in the temporal court by an action of *quare impedit* ; and the presentee may obtain redress by a *duplex querela* in the ecclesiastical court. In these suits the bishop must assign cause of refusal ; and if the cause alleged seem to the court insufficient (which the want of conversion and spirituality would always seem), then the bishop is condemned in the costs, and the right of institution is transferred to the archbishop of the province. Courts of law can not judge of the qualifications of the ministers of Christ ; and if the presentee, however near he may be to Romanism or Socinianism, will only sign the thirty-nine articles, and subscribe to the prayer-book, and has neither written nor preached any thing directly contradicting the doctrines of the church, the court would give judgment against the bishop. Bishops, therefore, never put themselves into this position, and Anglo-Catholic priests by thousands occupy the pulpits of the land. But Anglo-Catholic priests are not the worst pastors

¹ Tracts for the Times, No. 1.

² See “Examination before Admission to a Benefice by the Bishop of Exeter.” By G. C. Gorham. Hatchard and Son. 1848.

of our churches ; they may be earnest and devout men, though holding serious errors : but by extensive inquiries in many counties, I am convinced that in thousands more of our parishes such a meager theology prevails as suits men of the world. Agriculturists, sportsmen, men of literature, lovers of fashionable amusements, upright and estimable but worldly men by thousands are pastors to the people : in whose ministry the doctrines of justification by grace through faith without the deeds of the law, of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, of the necessity of progressive sanctification, and the duty of unreserved obedience to the whole law of God, find no place. To make this evil the more intolerable, the same system which fills the parishes of England with men who do not know how to preach the Gospel to their people, excludes from those parishes all Anglican ministers who would preach it. "Not two thousand out of sixteen thousand pulpits in England advocate the cause of the Church Missionary Society."¹ That Society, patronized by archbishops and bishops, is supported by nearly all the evangelical ministers of the Establishment, and yet has access to only two thousand pulpits. Can we venture to hope that there are then more than three thousand evangelical ministers in the Establishment ? and if so then, as there are 13,154 churches and chapels, 12,923 of the working clergy, and 10,533 benefices, there must be nearly 7533 benefices and 10,154 pulpits in which the Gospel is not faithfully preached, and about 9923 Anglican ministers who are unevangelical. Three thousand faithful men, however, if they were unfettered, could make the Gospel known in every parish, but they are forbidden. Christ has said, "*Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature ;*"² and Paul felt himself to be a debtor to preach as far as his strength allowed to all ;³ but the State says to all Anglican evangelists, "You must enter no parish without the permission of the incumbent." We read in the fifth chapter of the Acts that, when the apostles were beaten by their rulers, and commanded not to speak in the

¹ Church Missionary Society Jubilee, June, 1848, p. 8.

² Mark xvi. 15.

³ Romans i. 14.

name of Jesus, "*Daily in every house they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.*"¹ But by the seventy-first canon it is enacted, "No minister shall preach in any private house . . . upon pain of suspension for the first offense, and excommunication for the second." When Peter, aided by Barnabas, was sanctioning in the church of Antioch dangerous error, we find that Paul withstood him to the face.² But the fifty-third canon enacts that, "If any preacher shall in the pulpit particularly, or namely of purpose impugn or confute any doctrine delivered by any other teacher in the same church, or in any church near adjoining, before he hath acquainted the bishop," (whose own doctrines may be unevangelical,) "the churchwarden shall . . . not suffer the said preacher any more to occupy that place which he hath once abused," (by exposing false doctrine ;) "except he faithfully promise to forbear all such matter of contention in the church," &c. Christ has commanded the Gospel to be preached to every creature ; but while there are, perhaps, 7500 parishes in England in which the Gospel is not faithfully preached, no evangelical minister may invade their ignorance and spiritual death. For, "There is no general principle of ecclesiastical law more firmly established than this, that it is not competent to any clergyman to officiate in any church or chapel within the limits of a parish without the consent of the incumbent ;"³ and from private houses we have already seen that they are excluded. Evangelical ministers are thus shut out of the parishes of ungodly ministers. An able and excellent man may be tempted to indolence as the pastor of one of the 1907 parishes, whose population is under 100 ; or of the 6681 parishes, whose population is under 300 ; and around him may be populous districts, in which his sermons might bring hundreds to Christ. Multitudes within his reach may never hear the Gospel ; and their ministers may be unconverted men, farmers, sportsmen, and men of pleasure, but without their leave he must not enter one of their parishes, though he knows that the people are perishing in irreligion, and willing to hear. If

¹ Acts v. 42.² Gal. ii. 11.³ Burn, vol. i. p. 306.

among them some few crowd his small "church of wood and stone," and, being converted by his ministry, wish to join the living church, their own parish incumbents and neighbors being all careless about religion, the twenty-eighth canon forbids it in the following terms:—"The churchwardens . . . shall mark . . . whether any strangers come often and commonly from other parishes to their church, and shall show their minister of them, lest, perhaps, they shall be admitted to the Lord's table among others, which they shall forbid; and remit such home to their own parish churches and ministers, there to receive the communion with the rest of their neighbors." And the fifty-seventh canon adds the following directions:—"If any parson, vicar, or curate, shall either receive to the communion any such persons, which are not of his church and parish, or shall baptize any of their children, let him be suspended." By one canon the faithful ministers of the Gospel are forbidden to enter the parishes of ungodly ministers to preach to their neglected parishioners; by another they are required to expel any of them who may happen to be awakened from their own churches; and by another they must not even warn their people of the false doctrines which are ruining men's souls in all the surrounding pulpits.

Thousands of parishes are thus surrendered by the State to Anglo-Catholic or worldly men, to whom the union secures a monopoly of instruction. A spiritual darkness broods over the land, beneath which piety dies, and no stirring evangelists may dispel it. This is bad enough, but it seems to me still worse that the effect of the union has been to stupefy men's consciences, while it ties their hands. Christ's command to preach the Gospel to every creature is superseded by canons which forbid it to be preached; and evangelical ministers, and myriads of pious persons, contentedly see the commandments of Christ made of none effect by church traditions (see Matt. xv. 1-9), and when *they know* that there are thousands to whom the Gospel is not preached, do nothing to save them; nay, uphold, with a strange enthusiasm, the "venerable Estab-

lishment," whose law of patronage and whose merciless canons perpetuate their fatal ignorance.

If this continues, and the country becomes more irreligious—if myriads of men, women, and children, who might have been saved by the knowledge of Christ, perish in their ignorance because Christian men are so timid and slothful that they will not break down this parochial monopoly, and will not claim and win the right of Christian ministers to preach Christ to all that know him not, then the ruin of these multitudes in the untaught alleys of each city, and the ill-taught villages of each county, must lie at their door. Ministers and churches are bound to preach Christ to every creature, and woe is unto us if we preach him not!

SECTION V.—*Influence of the Union upon the Discipline of the Anglican Churches.*

By church discipline is meant the system of regulations for the admission, correction, and exclusion of members and of officers in churches; its objects are to maintain purity of doctrine in each church, and to promote the piety of its members. It is to prevent unfit persons from being admitted into fellowship with the church, to correct offending members, and to exclude those whose conduct is unworthy of their profession; to secure the selection of a faithful pastor, and to remove a pastor who is unsound, immoral, ungodly, or incapable. It is thus intended to render each church, what several of the primitive churches were, a society of "saints and faithful brethren."¹ It is to help each church to fulfill in its measure the prediction of Isaiah respecting the universal church, contained in these words: "*Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee; for, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.*"² It is to render each church, in a degree, what the Lord

¹ Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 2; Eph. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 2; 1 Thess. i.; 2 Thess. i. 3, &c.

² Isaiah lx. 1, 2.

Jesus Christ will eventually make his universal church, "*a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but holy and without blemish.*"¹ It is to make and keep the members of the church "*blameless and harmless, the sons of God without reproach, τέκνα Θεοῦ ἀμώμητα.*"²

In order to examine how far the union provides for these objects in the discipline of the Establishment, let us consider, first, the constitution of its church courts, and, secondly, its administration of discipline.

I.—ON CHURCH COURTS.

I do not find in the New Testament any other church court than the church itself under the presidency of its elders. Acts vi. 1–6; xv. 6, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28; Heb. xiii. 7, 17; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.

Church-meetings were frequent. Acts vi. 2; xi. 22; xiv. 27; xv. 4, 22; xviii. 22; 1 Cor. vi. 19; Col. iv. 16, &c.

The church forsook or excommunicated unsound teachers. Matt. vii. 15; Gal. v. 12.

Individual members used their gifts for the welfare of the church. 1 Cor. xiv. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 10.

Some acted as pastors who were not preachers. 1 Tim. v. 17.

Members of churches comforted each other. 1 Thess. iv. 18.

They edified each other. 1 Thess. v. 11.

They exhorted and admonished each other. Col. iii. 16; Heb. iii. 13; x. 25.

They confessed to each other. James v. 16.

They warned the unruly, comforted the feeble-minded, and supported the weak. 1 Thess. v. 14.

They settled quarrels among themselves. Matt. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. vi. 3, 4.

They restored backsliders. Gal. vi. 1; 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

They excommunicated offenders. Matt. xviii. 17;

¹ Eph. v. 27,

² Phil. ii. 15.

Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. v. 13; 2 Cor. ii. 6; 2 Cor. vi. 14-18.

And each church was responsible for all the false doctrine or immoral conduct which was found within it. Rev. ii. 2, 5, 14-16, 20, with ii. 11, 17, 29.

But by the union the church is set aside. It has nothing to do with the choice of its officers, nor their dismissal, nor with the admission or exclusion of members, nor with the infliction of church-censures; its functions having been entirely superseded by a system of ecclesiastical courts, established for all the Anglican Churches by authority of the Crown. Criminally has the State, without authority from Christ, usurped the functions of the churches; and, with equal disregard to the will of Christ, declared by apostolic precepts and precedents, have the Anglican Churches abandoned their proper duty of self-administration. Instead of that loving watchfulness over one another, and that loyal zeal for the honor of the Redeemer, by which the purity of the first churches was secured, all cases of discipline are now carried into courts which have no authority from Christ, for which there is no precedent in the New Testament, and which common sense rejects.

The highest court in the Establishment is the Convocation, which is its legislature; while the administration of its laws is committed to the bishops, to 300 peculiars, to diocesan consistorial courts, to the court of Arches, to the courts of common law, and to the privy council. Let us examine the constitution and operation of these courts.

1. *The Convocation*.—In the province of Canterbury the Convocation consists of two houses—the upper house of bishops, the lower of the inferior clergy and their representatives. Besides those who sit in their own right, there are civilians elected to represent the cathedral chapters and the diocesan clergy. Each diocese sends up two representatives; but as none but incumbents have any right to vote in their election, the curates, who amount to one-third of the working clergy, are unrepresented, together with all the churches themselves. Thus the synod comprehends 22 deans, 53 archdeacons, 24 proctors of chapters, and 44

proctors of the parochial clergy. Of the 143 members of whom the court is composed, 75 are dignitaries who sit in their own right, and 24 represent the cathedral clergy. There are, therefore, 99 members who are connected with the cathedrals and the higher offices of the Establishment, and 44 represent the parochial clergy. The Anglican Churches and their curates are totally unrepresented. No Anglican pastor, unless he be a dignitary, can sit there. The clergy can only be represented by lawyers, and these form only one-third of the assembly, while the other two-thirds are composed of lawyers who represent the cathedral chapters, and of dignitaries who are not representatives at all. This court is a mockery of representation. No part of it represents the churches, and that part of it which represents the clergy is so small, that in any question between the dignitaries and the working clergy the dignitaries must always have an overwhelming majority. Yet, the 139th canon has enacted, "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the sacred synod of this nation, in the name of Christ and by the king's authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicated ;" and if ever the Church of England is to act as a corporate body, it must act through this mockery of a legislature.

Were the 13,000 Anglican Churches divided into groups of fifty, and each group were to send two deputies, a pastor and a lay member, this body of 520 deputies would be a real representation of the Establishment ; but this dwarfish synod, being two-thirds head, and one-third body, with no pastors of churches, and no elected members except lawyers, could effect no reform, and seems only fitted, even if in active operation, to perpetuate those abuses in the Establishment among which it itself occupies a principal place.

But even this feeble thing is so feared by the State, that it is kept, like a tiger, in a cage, where it has no space in which to act ; and has received so many knocks that its very growl has died.

Before they can meet in convocation,¹ the clergy must

¹ Burn, vol. ii. p. 24.

have leave to do so under the broad seal, as a convocation can not assemble without consent of the king.

Whatever evils prevail in the Establishment requiring, like the semi-papal mania of late years, the most earnest deliberation and solemn decisions of the churches, they must remain unexamined, unless the Crown gives, not the churches, but the dignitaries and the lawyers, leave to examine them. The churches *can* never examine them; the dignitaries *must* not without the leave of the Crown.

When the Convocation has obtained leave to sit, it can not make any canon without the assent of the Crown.

When any canon is made, it can not be executed without the assent of the Crown; so that if the Anglican Churches think any law, as, for instance, a congregational veto upon the appointment of a pastor to be agreeable to the will of Christ, and necessary for their welfare, the sovereign may forbid it, and the churches must prefer the will of the sovereign to the will of Christ.

Nor are these the only restrictions upon this caged legislature. For even the consent of the Crown does not enable it to make any canons against the queen's prerogative, against common law, against any statute, and against any custom of the realm; so that if the prerogative, the common law, the statute law, or the customs of the realm, be in any respects opposed to the authority of Christ and to the will of God, the Anglican Churches must uphold the authority of the State, and must disregard the authority of Christ, as the condition upon which they are established.

If, further, the courts of common law determine that a canon is not against the prerogative, nor against common law, nor against statute law, nor against custom, and it is sanctioned by the queen, still it can not bind the laity till it is sanctioned by Parliament. By canon 139, the Convocation is the Church of England, and therefore no law passed by the Church of England can bind the Church till the State consent.¹ If the queen consent, it may then bind the pastors; but unless a majority of the representatives of London, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Edin-

¹ Burn, vol. ii. p. 27.

burgh, Dublin, Oldham, Aberdeen, Kilkenny, and Cork, &c., &c., consent, it can not be adopted by the churches. If Roman Catholics, and men of no religion in Parliament, can obtain a majority to say "No" to any law of the Anglican Churches, then, however scriptural and however necessary the law may be for the promotion of religion in the land, it can not bind the members of the churches. The Establishment rests on this condition.

And yet, unprincipled as it appears in churches to allow any strangers thus to forbid their self-government, *which is to forbid their unlimited obedience to Christ*, an examination of the canons may make us rejoice that the State has so pinioned the Convocation. The existing canons bind the clergy, but do not bind the laity. The State has placed the incumbents and the curates under the control of the dignitaries' canons, but it has protected all other members of the Establishment from this unwholesome domination. We live, therefore, under a curious system, in which laws thought too bad to bind the flocks are thought good enough to bind their pastors; the churches are emancipated, but their ministers are enthralled.

2. *Diocesan and other Ecclesiastical Courts.*—There are various ecclesiastical courts charged with the administration of the laws relating to the Establishment.¹ Three hundred of these, of various descriptions, are termed peculiars. Each diocese has also its consistorial court, exercising general jurisdiction, over which the bishop presides.² A new and formidable power has been given to the bishops by the church discipline act, 3 and 4 Vict. cap. 86, the object of which, says a French paper, is to place the inferior clergy more completely under the rod of the bishops.³ By that act the bishop may issue a commission to five persons to inquire against any offense against ecclesiastical law alleged to have been committed by any minister; for instance, that he denies baptismal regeneration, or that he owns dissenting ministers to be lawful ministers of Christ. These commissioners are to report to the bishop whether

¹ Burn, vol. ii. p. 30.

² *Ib.*

³ "Toujours mieux sous la ferrule des évêques."

there is ground for instituting proceedings against the party accused.¹ Upon their report the bishop may summon him before him ; and if the truth of the charges be denied, the bishop, with three assessors to be nominated by him, shall hear the cause, and pronounce sentence, which sentence shall be good in law. According to this un-English statute, the bishop may nominate five of his creatures to investigate the case in secret ; upon their report he may nominate three others of his creatures to sit together with him secretly in judgment upon the accused, and upon their *ex parte* judgment may suspend, or otherwise punish, the clerical victim. The bishop is accuser, jury, and judge ; all persons concerned in the trial may be his creatures, the accused has no right of challenging jurors, the public are excluded from the investigation, and the bishop's sentence has the force of law. Ministers who are aggrieved may appeal to the judicial committee of the privy council, but the appeal is expensive and hazardous. 5230 curates have average stipends of 81*l.* ; 5861 incumbents have under 300*l.* per annum, and, except in very grave cases, a victory over the court of appeal would be a worse evil than defeat in his own court. Defeat, if patiently endured, might satisfy his desire of vengeance, but victory in the court of appeal would rouse it into dangerous intensity. And, therefore in the ten thousand annoyances to which, after a few years of slumber, this statute is likely to expose the most exemplary clergymen, they will find it better to submit than to demand justice.

The highest court of discipline in the province of Canterbury is the court of Arches, which exercises appellate jurisdiction over each of the diocesan courts and over most of the peculiars.² It may decide all matters of spiritual discipline ; and it may suspend or deprive clergymen without the presence of the bishop or archbishop.³ The judge is a doctor of civil law, and is termed dean of the court.

3. *Privy Council*.—From the court of Arches there formerly lay an appeal to the court of Delegates, which was composed of commissioners named by the king ; but

¹ Burn, iii. 338.

² Ib. ii. 30.

³ Ib. pp. 30, 146.

by 2 and 3 Will. IV. cap. 92, and 3 and 4 Will. IV. cap. 41, the appeal was transferred to a judicial committee of the privy council.¹ The committee consists of the president of the council, the lord chancellor, the lord keeper, the chief justice of the Queen's Bench, the master of the rolls, the vice-chancellor, the lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, the chief baron, the judge of the prerogative court of Canterbury, and all members of the privy council who have filled any of the above offices.²

By means of all these courts offending clergymen are screened from the punishment of their offenses. If, for instance, a clergyman of Cumberland or Cornwall becomes a drunkard, instead of being judged by the church to which he ministers, according to the method of the New Testament, he would first be brought before the consistorial court, then before the court of Arches, and then before the judicial committee of the privy council. And if these noble and learned persons do not think him sufficiently drunken to deserve deprivation or suspension, then his flock must continue to attend him or have no Anglican pastor at all. The law of Christ says to the church, "*Put away from among yourselves that wicked person,*" whether minister, peasant, or peer; but the union has ruled it, that they must not put him away, unless the consistorial court, the court of Arches, and the judicial committee of the privy council, say that they may. Their obedience to the law of Christ depends upon the decision of a number of distinguished men, who may be neither communicants nor believers.

The reason why the committee of council judges in the last resort of all ecclesiastical matters is, that, according to the doctrine of the union, the jurisdiction exercised by the ecclesiastical court is derived from the Crown of England. The 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 17, runs thus: "Archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical but by and from your royal majesty. . . . Forasmuch as your majesty is the only and undoubted supreme head of the Church of

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 64.

² *Ib.*

England, to whom, by holy Scripture, all authority and power is wholly given to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all vice and sin, whatsoever."¹

Yet, when it is said that an appeal lies from the court of Arches to the privy council, we must notice that this is only true of matters within the jurisdiction of the inferior court. If any case which is brought before the court of Arches is beyond its jurisdiction, or is thought to be so, the case may be transferred by appeal to the courts of common law. "As the laws and statutes of the realm have prescribed to the ecclesiastical courts their bounds, so the courts of common law have the superintendency over them to keep them within the limits of their jurisdiction, and to determine whether they have exceeded their limits or no."

"The judges of the courts of common law have the exposition of those statutes."²

Both the superintendence of the courts of common law and the appeal to the privy council illustrate the statement of Dr. Burn: "The jurisdiction exercised in the ecclesiastical court is derived from the Crown of England; and the last devolution is to the king by way of appeal."³ When and where did Christ give this authority to the Crown? and, if nowhere, what right have the churches to abandon their sacred trust?

II.—ADMINISTRATION OF DISCIPLINE UNDER THE UNION.

There is a remarkable contrast between the simplicity of the scriptural system and the complexity of the Anglican. According to Scripture the church itself expels its offending members: and this is better than the Anglican system. The members of the church best know the transactions which take place among themselves. It is better that a matter should be settled on the spot among those who were witnesses of it, than that it should be transferred to a distance for adjudication. A church composed of spiritual men can understand spiritual questions far better than the

¹ Burn, vol. ii. p. 43.

² Ib. p. 51.

³ Ib.

lawyers who practice in the court of Arches, or those who compose the committee of council. And since the church is composed of brethren among whom the pastor ought to be as a brother, it is a great evil that they should receive back to them, by sentence of a court of law, a pastor who has lost their confidence. To execute the pastoral office carefully, a minister ought to be esteemed and loved by the church to which he ministers. As his office exists solely for their welfare, and as without their esteem he can not do them good, upon losing that esteem he ought to retire. The court of Arches has, therefore, inflicted a mischief and a wrong upon any church when it fastens upon them a minister who has lost their esteem, because he has not been legally proved to be guilty of an offense which may occasion his degradation. This whole cumbrous machinery—the consistorial court, the court of Arches, the committee of council, and the superintendence of the common law courts—is all contrived to execute what the church itself could execute much more cheaply and effectually.

To illustrate this let us examine the actual exercise of discipline in the Establishment.

1. *Settlement of Pastors.*—The first point which claims attention is the mode in which, under the union, pastors are settled over the churches within the Establishment.

Since the character of a pastor is of great importance to a church, its members are bound by a regard for their own spiritual welfare, to secure a good one. Since the qualifications necessary to become a minister of Christ, by his authority, are laid down in Scripture, and no ordained persons without these minister by his authority, each church must see that its minister has these qualifications.¹ And since the first churches chose their own ministers, with the sanction, and probably by the advice, of the apostles, each church is under a moral obligation to follow this precedent.² No church is at liberty to devolve this duty of trying its

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 2; 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 5; Matt. vii. 15–20; John x. 4, 5; Matt. xii. 30; Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. v. 11–13; 2 John 9, 11; Rev. ii. 2; 2 Cor. xi. 13–15; Gal. i. 7–9; v. 12.

² Acts i. 15–26; vi. 1–6; xiv. 23.

pastor upon any one else. Any law or custom notwithstanding, each of the 13,000 churches in the Establishment is bound to see that its pastor is a true pastor, having the qualifications required by the New Testament ; and if this duty is assigned by a church to a patron, to a diocesan, to a court of law, the church is disregarding the authority of Christ. In whatever manner the patrons or others may discharge this duty for a church, its members have sinned in putting their consciences into the keeping of others. Christ did not appoint that the committee of council should determine whether their pastor is faithful, but that they should determine it, and they are responsible for their own duty. Still, since the Anglican Churches have devolved this duty on the State, let us see how the State discharges it.

Settlement of Assistant Pastors.—The pastors of the Establishment are either assistant pastors or sole pastors, either curates or incumbents. Let us first examine the discipline of the Establishment respecting the curates. Church discipline is meant to afford facilities for the introduction of pious men into the ministry, and to exclude the unworthy ; but the discipline of the Establishment is unfavorable to both these ends.

First, let us consider the case of a devoted man who wishes to become the pastor of a church within the Establishment. Various great difficulties are placed in his way by the union. 1: He must declare, according to the thirty-sixth canon, that the queen, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm in all spiritual things and causes ; which is contrary to Scripture, because Scripture allows no authority to Cæsar in spiritual things ; and which is contrary to fact, because the legislature and not the Crown, is the supreme legislative authority in this country. 2. By the Act of Uniformity he must declare his assent and consent to the prayer-book with its various errors ; and by the thirty-sixth canon must declare, notwithstanding those errors, that it contains in it nothing contrary to the word of God. 3. By the same canon he must pronounce all the thirty-nine articles, though these also are in several points erro-

neous, agreeable to the word of God. When he has considered the statements to which he is obliged to subscribe, he has next to ask himself whether he can place himself under the control of those objectionable canons, by which he will be legally bound the moment that he shall become an Anglican minister.

Some pious men are withheld by these considerations from seeking to become pastors within the Establishment. His next task is to secure the consent of the bishop. If he is seeking ordination, the bishop has nearly absolute power to reject him without assigning any definite reason. The bishop may choose to think him unfit because he believes in justification by grace through faith, in regeneration by the Holy Ghost, instead of maintaining regeneration and remission of sins by baptism ; or he may declare that he is too old, because, like our blessed Lord, he was thirty years of age before he entered upon his ministry. If, on the other hand, he is already ordained, the bishop has absolute power to repel him from the charge of any church within his diocese by simply refusing his license.

It is hence too plain that the union tends to prevent many pious men from becoming pastors. On the other hand, the provision to exclude bad men from the pastorate is far from adequate. The bishop, it is true, is absolute, and can exclude whom he will from the ministry by refusing to ordain, or any minister from being assistant pastor by refusing his license. But if the bishop excluded from ordination or from curacies worldly young men of rich families and high connections, he would subject himself to a disagreeable publicity in Parliament and elsewhere. Bishops, also, nominated by the ministers of the Crown, who are apt to view the Establishment chiefly as an engine of government, may themselves be, like their patrons, worldly men, who would be disposed to exclude converted men from the ministry as enthusiastic, and to admit the unconverted as more rational. The majority of patrons also being worldly men, and presenting worldly men to their livings, these worldly incumbents would generally prefer worldly curates. And when worldly bishops have worldly curates

presented to them for license or for ordination, it is very unlikely that they should refuse to them either one or the other.

To statements of this kind it is common to reply by adducing the solemn subscriptions and professions required from each candidate. But all experience proves that a paper protection against abuses, without a living reforming agency, is of no use. I do not advance any thing doubtful when I say, that many unconverted men make all the required professions without seriously intending them. Every one knows it to be the case. The required subscriptions not unfrequently repel men of thoughtful minds and tender consciences ; but who has ever heard of the youthful expectant of a good living being frightened by them in consideration of his habits of idle gayety ? If it be further imagined, that if men will make false professions the Establishment deserves no blame, I answer, the Establishment is wholly to blame if it depends upon paper defenses and dead creeds for the protection of its churches from ungodly pastors, when it might have a powerful living agency to protect them.

Why is not each candidate examined here, as in Scotland, by a board of presbyters, independent of the diocesan, whose approval might be indispensable for ordination ? This would hinder the ordination of some unworthy men. Why has not each church a veto on the appointment of its pastor ? The experiment in Scotland completely succeeded. Never, perhaps, was a church so rapidly improved as the Church of Scotland under its veto law. Students, patrons, and presbyters, were all benefited. Bad men were sure of being rejected by the churches, and would not expose themselves to the disgrace. Good men were certain of advancement, and crowded into the profession. And when the State interposed to prevent the veto, so convinced were the evangelical portion of the Church of Scotland of its necessity, that rather than forego it they separated forever from the Establishment with all its emoluments and honors. While these guards are despised by us, it is idle to glory in paper checks, which every unscrupulous aspirant

after ecclesiastical wealth and dignity disregards. Even those who make their boast of the solemnity of ordination and the extent of the required subscriptions, know well that both are useless when they are most required, and that thoughtless libertines may laugh at both when pressing on to rich rectories which can afford them the means of luxuriance and self-indulgence ; and that fellows of colleges, more versed in the heathen than in Christian literature, when they wish to take orders that they may retain their college incomes, seldom dream of being arrested by these customary forms.

It may be said that something like the veto is given to the Anglican Churches by the union, because when the candidate is to be ordained deacon the bishop first addresses the people thus : “ Brethren, if there be any of you knoweth any impediment or notable crime in any of these persons presented to be ordained deacons, for the which he ought not to be admitted to that office, let him come forth in the name of God and show what the crime or impediment is.” And the rubric adds, “ If any great crime or impediment be objected, the bishop shall surcease from ordering that person until such time as the party accused shall be found clear of that crime.”

This sounds very well. But this popular liberty is never used ; the fitness of notoriously careless men is never challenged ; and the fact is too clearly accounted for by the following reasons : 1. The impediment alleged must be a legal one ; and, since worldliness, carelessness, and the want of conversion, are no legal impediments, no one can adduce these things as reasons why any candidate should not be ordained. 2. The charge must be capable of legal proof ; and as the establishment of it would consume time and money, be invidious, and might fail of success, few will expose themselves to these inconveniences. 3. The candidate for ordination is to be ordained at a distance from the church to which he is about to minister, which is the only church whose immediate interest it is to prevent his ordination ; and no members of that church are present to object. 4. The candidate for ordination is generally a

perfect stranger to the church over which he is to be co-pastor, and not one of its members may know more of him than they would of a Chinese mandarin or a baboo of Bengal. Hence, the address to the "Brethren" is a mere form; and not one of the thousands of candidates for the ministry in England, whatever his capacity and whatever his levity, encounters even the whisper of an objection at his ordination. The churches of the Establishment are perfectly defenseless; but it is their own doing. They might disinthrall themselves if they would.

Settlement of Sole Pastors.—If there ought to be great care taken in the appointment of co-pastors, the appointment of the sole or chief pastor is still more important. Considering that the appointment is permanent, the most vigorous means should be employed to protect the church against a careless teacher, who may injure the cause of religion within the place for nearly half a century. But the difficulties encountered in the endeavor to repel from the ministry assistant pastors who are unfitted for their office, grow into an impossibility respecting those who, having already been ordained, are to become, through the nomination of patrons, the sole and permanent pastors of churches. Patrons being unrestricted in their choice among fifteen thousand ministers of the Establishment, a patron may select whom he will for any church with which he is connected. Provided that his presentee has committed no ecclesiastical offense rendering him liable to deprivation or suspension, the presentee can bid defiance to the bishop and to the church. If the bishop refuse to admit the presentee within twenty-eight days, he is liable to a suit of *duplex querela* in the ecclesiastical court.¹ He must now state the cause of his refusal, and if the cause which he alleges is not good in law, or be not proved, then the bishop is condemned in the costs of the suit, and must proceed to institute, or the right of institution devolves on the archbishop.² At the same time, the patron may bring against him an action of *quare impedit* in the common law court, in which case the ordinary must show the cause of his

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 156.

² *Ib.* p. 161.

refusal specially and directly ; and if the court does not find the cause good in law, the ordinary must atone for the injury to the patron by the payment of a second penalty.¹ To these legal rights of the patron and the presentee the bishop can oppose no resistance ; and if the latter be utterly unfit for the pastoral office, and entirely distasteful to the people, destitute of the chief qualifications required by Christ, but not destitute of those required by law, the bishop must admit him to be the pastor of a church which detests him ; although his entrance among them will be the signal for the desertion of the temple and for the decay of all religion in the place. Of all parties the church is the most deeply interested in the settlement of its pastor, and of all parties it is the least regarded. The law considers nothing else than the rights of the patron and presentee, and judges of the settlement of the pastor just as it would judge of the settlement of an account between two partners in business. The church, therefore, having no veto, no right of effective objection, no method of legal repulsion of an unfit man, sees a pastor forced upon it, whose intellect and whose character alike forbid both respect and affection. If the Anglican Churches were severed from the State, no man could become the minister of any church without having first secured its approbation : but now there are thousands of churches who have received from patrons their pastors with merited reluctance, or with degraded and stupid indifference. And this system will go on while the union lasts. Bad pastors will continue to be forced upon the people, and the Gospel will be excluded from many parishes by the tyranny of the law and the degradation of the churches.

2. *Influence of the Union upon the ordinary exercise of the Ministry.*—As no clergyman can officiate in any parish without the bishop's license, which, with respect to curates, the bishop may withhold and revoke at his pleasure, the ministry of each of the five thousand curates of the kingdom must be greatly directed and restrained by the views of his diocesan. Should the diocesan frown upon

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 162.

extempore preaching and prayer, upon village meetings, bible classes, ministerial conferences, the support of evangelical institutions, and friendly relations with dissenters, the curate must forego these means of usefulness. By his immense authority, his large patronage, and his absolute power over a license essential to the exercise of the Anglican ministry, the bishop can mold and fashion the preaching and ministry of his curates as he will. And when the bishop is a worldly man who dislikes the Gospel, this influence must be noxious in the extreme. The union at this moment greatly represses the preaching of the Gospel throughout the kingdom. Although it is Christ's command to his ministers to preach the Gospel to every creature; and in the first churches of Christ the apostles would allow no restrictions upon their preaching, and even private Christians went every where preaching the word; any Anglican minister who should preach Christ in any ignorant or vicious town or village without the license of the bishop, would be punishable by law. Incumbents as well as curates are thus hindered from preaching the Gospel. Multitudes of pious men, who might preach Christ in thousands of parishes, are confined to their own little congregations, leaving all the villages around them in ignorance, because they have no license. Even the bishop's license would not set them free; for no Anglican minister may preach in another man's parish without his consent; and as ungodly incumbents never consent that evangelical ministers should disturb them by their doctrines of grace, the zealous ministers of the Establishment are shut up to their own little cures. Even in their own parishes all meetings for worship in private houses are condemned by canon 71. And, as though these rules were not sufficiently repressive of evangelical zeal in Anglican ministers, the 52 George III. cap. 155, prohibits all religious assemblies in private houses of more than twenty persons besides the family without a magistrate's license; and the liberty of taking out this license has been held to belong to dissenters alone. Thus the union first secures by patronage that a majority of parochial ministers shall be worldly men, who

do not know how to guide their people to salvation ; and then, having cursed these parishes with spiritual darkness, prohibits the evangelical minority from doing any thing to enlighten them.

The Lord Jesus Christ, having claimed from all believers to express their faith in him before the world, without which confession their cowardice would prove them to be no believers, required them to be baptized, baptism being the appointed mode of professing their faith. Repentance and faith are, therefore, the essential prerequisites to baptism. When our Lord sent out his disciples to preach the Gospel, he said to them, "*He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.*"¹ They must first believe, and then profess their faith by baptism. When the Jewish multitude at Pentecost believed, upon the preaching of the apostles, that Jesus was the Christ, and asked, "What shall we do?" Peter answered, "*Repent, and be baptized.*"² Repentance, therefore, must precede baptism. And when the eunuch, to whom Philip was sent in the wilderness, believed that Jesus was Christ, and said to Philip, "See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized?" Philip said, "*If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest.*"³ Thus making faith the condition of baptism. Paul was converted first and then baptized.⁴ Cornelius and his friends first received the Holy Ghost, and then were baptized.⁵ Lydia of Thyatira received the word of God, and was baptized.⁶ The jailer's faith, likewise, preceded his baptism.⁷ And in no instance do we read in the New Testament of any person being baptized till he had previously received the doctrine of Christ. Repentance and faith, therefore, must precede baptism ; and if the infants of believers are to be baptized, as is generally believed, it must be on the supposition that God accepts them as penitent believers, through the faith and the prayer of their parents.

But the practice of the Establishment is to baptize all

¹ Mark xvi. 16.

² Acts ii. 38.

³ Acts viii. 37.

⁴ Acts ix. 1-18.

⁵ Acts x. 44-47.

⁶ Acts xvi. 14, 15.

⁷ Acts xvi. 30-34.

the children of the several parishes without any inquiry into the faith of the parents, or any rational prospect that they will receive a religious education. By the sixty-eighth canon, a minister who refuses to baptize any child who is brought to him to the church for that purpose, is liable to suspension for three months. Thus, though parents and sponsors are alike ungodly, and general experience proves that their children will grow up ungodly too, the Anglican minister must baptize them, and thank God that he has regenerated them with his Holy Spirit. Thus the conditions of baptism are generally violated, the ends of it are frustrated, the nature of it is forgotten; the baptized millions of England have made no profession of faith, they were baptized without their consent—baptized atheists; deists and profligates dishonor the Christian name; the churches of Christ, which ought to be composed of saints and faithful brethren, as the churches of Rome and Corinth, of Thessalonica, Philippi, and Colosse were, are churches of persons ignorant of the Gospel and unconcerned about their salvation;¹ they ought to be separate from the world;² but they are of the world. Converted persons and unconverted, believers and unbelievers, are confounded in one undistinguishable mass, and evangelical ministers are agents in accomplishing the fatal amalgamation.

Next comes the ceremony of confirmation. At the baptism of an infant the minister, by order of the State, directs sponsors to bring the child to be confirmed “so soon as he can say the creed, the Lord’s prayer, and the ten commandments in the vulgar tongue, and is further instructed in the church catechism.”

Those conditions being fulfilled, the minister must forward all the children of the parish to the bishop, with his certificate of fitness for the rite. And being thus certified by the minister that the child can say the creed, &c., the bishop is ordered by the State to say of the whole crowd of children who there and then profess to take upon themselves the baptismal vows, that God has “vouchsafed to

¹ Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 2; Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 2; 1 Thess. i. 1–10.

² John xv. 19; Acts v. 13, 14; 1 Cor. v. 13; 2 Cor. vi. 14.

regenerate them by water and the Holy Ghost, and has given unto them forgiveness of their sins."

After confirmation, each person not convicted of heresy or immorality has a legal right to attend the Lord's Supper at his parish church. By 1 Edward VI. cap. 1, "The minister shall not, without a lawful cause, deny the same (the sacrament) to any person that will devoutly and humbly desire it."

To have been at a card-party on the previous Monday, at a ball on Tuesday, at the race-course on Wednesday, and at the theater on Thursday, to have spent Friday in talking scandal, and to have devoted Saturday to some irreligious novel, would be no legal disqualification for the reception of the Lord's Supper on the following Sunday. No proofs of a worldly temper, no indolent self-indulgence, and no neglect of prayer, would affect the parishioner's statutory right to force his way to the Lord's table. The minister is obliged by law to administer to him the ordinance, the church is forced by law to receive him into communion with them. None but believers are invited by our Lord to his table,¹ and the churches are commanded to separate themselves from evil men :² but the statute interposes, and both the minister and the church must admit all who will to the sacred feast.

Those who eat and drink unworthily, instead of securing a blessing, eat and drink damnation to themselves, not discerning the Lord's body (1 Cor. xi. 29), and the Anglican churches do nothing to prevent this. Were irreligious persons excluded from the Lord's Supper, it might excite conscience and make them see that they are in danger ; but their admission to the table is calculated to stupefy and to deceive them, making them say, "Peace ! peace !" when there is no peace. Those who eat and drink at the Lord's table profess thereby to receive Christ by faith as their Saviour ; and the Anglican Churches allow those to dishonor Christ by this profession who are living frivolous,

¹ Matt. xxvi. 26 ; 1 Cor. xi. 27-29.

² Rom. xvi. 17 ; 1 Cor. v. 11-13 ; 2 Cor. iv. 14-18 ; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.

dissipated, ungodly lives, without any symptoms of devotedness or of faith. The Lord's Supper was meant to be a gathering of the church, by which Christians may be strengthened and refreshed by sympathy with each other; but in the Anglican Churches it is a gathering of all kinds of persons, and many of them have no more knowledge of each other than they have of foreigners. The Lord's Supper in parish-churches is no title to mutual confidence, no pledge of brotherly regard. It is no meeting of the church, but often an unhallowed association of the church and of the world. Churches which fall into coldness and allow ungodly persons to remain among their members have received solemn warnings and severe threatenings from Christ.¹ How many parochial Anglican Churches are now exposed to these threatenings? And this corrupt condition of the churches, this admixture of the church and the world, by which religion is misrepresented, our Lord is dishonored, and multitudes are injured, is sanctioned by evangelical ministers who uphold the system by adhering to it. Verbal protests are inadequate. They belong to it, they officiate in it, their characters and their labors support it; and they must be held in a high degree responsible for the evils which they chiefly perpetuate. At this moment of what members are the Anglican Churches composed? The men who devote their time and thought to betting at Newmarket and Doncaster, those who haunt the gambling-houses of London, those who divide their time between the pleasures of the chase and of the table, are members of churches; the theaters and the opera-house, notwithstanding that they are the haunts of vice and schools of irreligion, are filled with church members. The crowds who throng the Sunday trains and the Sunday steamboats, the numbers who sell and buy on the Lord's Day, the emaciated and ragged community of gin-drinkers, the rabble of the lowest alleys of London, Liverpool, and Manchester; the myriads who admire the "Dispatch," or love the pollution of the worst novels, all who are worthless, ignorant, and depraved, in the community, baptized in childhood, and not convicted

¹ Rev. ii. 4, 5, 14-16, 20-23; iii. 1-3, 15, 16.

of heresy or immorality, are in full communion with the Anglican Churches. They are all described in the catechism as "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;" all have a right to introduce their children into the churches by baptism, and then they and their children, as members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of heaven, have a legal right to participate in the Lord's Supper as guests at Christ's table with his saints.

If our Lord manifested so much indignation when the material temple was desecrated by traders,¹ how does he regard this corruption within his churches? If St. Paul said to the church of Corinth, "*Ye are the temple of God, if any man defile the temple of God him shall God destroy,*"² what judgment does our Lord pronounce on those who, by abetting and perpetuating this contempt of Christian discipline, by adherence to this abuse of the ordinances of Christ, continue to defile his churches?

When the parish minister has thus permitted persons of all sorts to make their children members of his church, and themselves, if they will, to participate in the Lord's Supper, he is at length called to commit their bodies to the grave when they are removed by death. Many of them grieved his heart by their open irreligion: they were covetous, they were quarrelsome, they were drunken; they broke the Sabbath, they neglected public and social worship, they were profane in their language, they died as they lived, testifying neither repentance nor faith; and over each who is brought to the grave, he, by order of the State, must say, "It hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed. . . . Almighty God, we give thee hearty thanks, for that it has pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world." The lost soul is gone to perdition, and the minister thanks God that it has gone to God. If the by-standers infer from this that they also shall go to God when they die, and that death will be their release also from misery, whose fault is this? If they perish in

¹ John ii. 13; Matt. xxi. 12.

² 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.

their sins, is the minister without blame whose words deceived and hardened them? The evangelical minister of an Anglican Church is thus placed in a miserable position. He must not preach Christ in private houses, nor enter into any neighboring parish where an ungodly minister is leading the people to destruction; he must baptize the infants of ungodly persons; he must teach his parishioners, against all observation, that these infants are members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; he must take unregenerate young persons at the age of fifteen or sixteen to be pronounced regenerate by the bishop; he must admit all sorts of persons to the Lord's table, though they are not invited by Christ; and must finally, when they die, express his thanks to God that they are taken to glory, when he has every reason to think that they are lost forever.

Although the ministers of proprietary chapels are not placed under this legal compulsion to desecrate Christ's ordinances, yet, by adhering to the Establishment, they sanction and support the whole system; and must be responsible for that corrupt union of the church and the world through which Christ is dishonored and souls are ruined.

3. *Church Censures and Penalties.*—The welfare of a Christian church depends in a great measure on the liberty of action afforded to its fervent members, and on the correction or removal of those who are inconsistent. Let us now consider how far the Anglican system under the union accomplishes these two objects.

Under the union, the following offenses are punishable by law—simony, immorality, heresy, schism, refusal to perform ministerial acts, and the performance of ministerial acts without authority. I will notice these in order.

Simony.—Simony is termed by the fortieth canon a “detestable sin.” Buying and selling of spiritual and ecclesiastical functions, offices, promotions, dignities, and *livings*, are there said to be “execrable before God,” on which account the canon enjoins that a clergyman, on being admitted to any ecclesiastical office or living, shall

swear that he has made no simoniacal payment or contract respecting it. The sale, therefore, or purchase of a vacant living, is illegal ; but the application of the canon is restricted to livings which are vacant. Presentations are constantly bought and sold like all other property. The salary of the pastor of an Anglican Church is sold by contract or by public auction. A man may buy it for himself or for his son, for his friend or for his customer. The best prices are always given for the pastoral salary of those churches in which the number of members is the smallest and the income the largest ; the age of the existing pastor being always taken into the account. When the salary is bought, the purchaser has no difficulty in securing the pastoral charge of the congregation for any friend who may have the minimum of knowledge and of character required by law. Many churches are thus placed under pastors of very small attainments, without the wishes of the church being any more considered by the seller and the buyer of the pastor's salary than the wishes of the stock upon a farm are considered in letting a farm, or the wishes of the slaves in the sale and purchase of an estate in Cuba.¹

¹ The following advertisements, extracted from *The Record* newspaper, in the single month of October last, show in what manner this sale and purchase of the incomes of pastors, and effectively of the pastoral office, is conducted in the Establishment :—

ESSEX.—ADVOWSON AND RECTORY OF MAGDALEN LAVER.

MESSRS. ELLIS and SON are directed to SELL by AUCTION, at GARRAWAY'S, on Thursday, October 12, at twelve o'clock (unless previously disposed of by private contract), the valuable ADVOWSON and NEXT PRESENTATION to the RECTORY of MAGDALEN LAVER, situate in a pleasant district, about twenty-six miles from London, six from Epping, and six from the Harlow station. The tithes have been commuted at 310*l.* per annum. The glebe consists of twenty-eight acres of land, of the annual value of 45*l.* The parsonage is at present out of repair, but a considerable sum has accumulated for the repair of it. The population is about 210. The present incumbent is in his seventy-fourth year.

Printed particulars may be had at the George Inn, Harlow ; of Messrs. Hindman and Howard, solicitors, Basinghall-street ; at Garraway's ; and of Messrs. Ellis and Son, auctioneers and estate agents, 36 Fenchurch-street.

The relation of a pastor to the church is most solemn :
"Take heed to yourselves," said Paul to the pastors of the

ADVOWSON.—KENT.

TO BE DISPOSED OF, the NEXT PRESENTATION to a VICARAGE, eligibly situated between Ashford and Canterbury, a quarter of a mile from a station on the South-Eastern and Dover Railway, and two hours and a half from London. Net income 700*l.* per annum. The incumbent sixty-five years of age. There is an excellent residence, with gardens and suitable offices, and thirty acres of glebe.

For further particulars and price apply to Messrs. Baker and Co., solicitors, No. 52 Lincoln's-inn-fields.

ADVOWSON FOR SALE.

THE PATRON of a VICARAGE in a southern county, of evangelical sentiments, is anxious to find a PURCHASER for the ADVOWSON, of similar views. The income exceeds 1000*l.* per annum. There is an excellent house for a large family, standing in its own grounds, part of which are glebe and part freehold, the property of the patron, which may be purchased if required.

For further particulars apply, by letter (prepaid), to A. Z., at the office of the Record.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—PERPETUAL ADVOWSON AND NEXT PRESENTATION TO THE VICARAGE OF LITTLE ADDINGTON.

MESSRS. DRIVER are instructed by the Trustees of the late J. C. Powell, Esq., to offer to public COMPETITION, at the Auction Mart, on TUESDAY, the 14th of November, at twelve, the very desirable and valuable ADVOWSON and RIGHT of NEXT PRESENTATION to the VICARAGE of LITTLE ADDINGTON, in the hundred of Huxloe, a very delightful village, most conveniently situate, two miles from Irthlingborough, four from Higham Ferrars, five from Thrapston, and seven from Wellingborough, in the county of Northampton; comprising a vicarage-house, garden, and paddock, and a very valuable parcel of glebe land and allotments, lying within a ring-fence, containing about 280 acres, with desirable homesteads, most eligibly situate, near the village, with live subdivision quick fences, and in the respective occupations of Mr. John Abbott, William Brawn, and Samuel Wright; of the value together of about 415*l.* per annum, subject to the life of the present incumbent, the Rev. Thomas Sanderson, aged sixty-three years. The population last census was 299.

ADVOWSON.

PERPETUAL PATRONAGE and RIGHT of PRESENTATION to be DISPOSED OF, subject to the life of an incumbent, now sixty-eight years. The benefice consists of an excellent rectory-house, lately built at a considerable expense; abounding with conveniences, and capitally-fitted, good out-offices, pleasure-grounds, garden, &c., farm-yard, and

Ephesian church, "*and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you ἐπίσκοπους, bishops (or pastors), to feed the church of God.*"¹ "*Take heed unto thyself,*" he added to his friend Timothy, "*and unto the doctrine; continue in them: for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee.*"² And pastors and teachers have been appointed by Christ in his church, "*for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.*"³ Yet this solemn office is determined in hundreds of instances in the Establishment by the mere sale and pur-

forty acres glebe. The tithes are commuted. Annual value upward of 600*l.* per annum, independent of surplice-fees, and is well situated in a pleasant and luxuriant country, four miles from a large town, to which there is railway conveyance.

ADVOWSON.

TO BE SOLD, BY PRIVATE CONTRACT, the PERPETUAL ADVOWSON of the RECTORY of CHIPSTABLE, in the county of Somerset. The gross annual rent-charge in lieu of tithe amounts to 281*l.*, and the annual value of the glebe as at present let and occupied, including the parsonage-house, garden, and outbuildings, to about 100*l.* After deducting rates and taxes, the net annual value of the living may be estimated at upward of 300*l.* The present incumbent was born in the year 1785. Chipstable is a rural parish, lying about three miles west of Wiveliscombe, and contains 2252 acres, and rather less than 400 inhabitants. The rectory-house (upon which several hundred pounds have been lately expended in putting it into a complete state of repair) is pleasantly situated, about a mile from the turnpike-road leading from Taunton to Tiverton through Bampton, about three miles from Wiveliscombe, ten from the Wellington station of the Bristol and Exeter railway, and ten from Dulverton.

FOR SALE by AUCTION, by MESSRS. COBB, at the AUCTION MART, London, on TUESDAY, the 21st day of November, 1848, at twelve o'clock, the NEXT PRESENTATION to the RECTORY of the UNITED PARISHES of MILTON DAMEREL and COOKBURY, in the county of Devon, distant from Holsworthy six miles, Torington nine miles, and Bideford twelve miles. The net annual income from the living, derived from tithe, rent-charges, and glebe-lands, comprising 110*a.* 3*r.* 29*p.*, may be safely estimated at 450*l.* The present incumbent is seventy-seven years of age. The rectory-house is pleasantly situated, adjoining the turnpike-road from Launceston to Bideford, over which a mail coach passes, and there are two post deliveries daily.

¹ Acts xx. 28.

² 1 Tim. iv. 16.

³ Eph. iv. 12.

chase of the pastor's salary ! Although the Church of England, by the fortieth canon, recognizes the sale and purchase of the pastoral office to be "detestable" and "execrable," yet hundreds of livings are annually bought and sold, by which the pastoral office is secured to the purchasers or their friends. Incompetent and unconverted men thus obtain a spiritual jurisdiction over churches, by which they can exclude from them every other Anglican minister, thus confining them to their own worthless and mischievous ministrations. With the dissolution of the union this abuse will cease ; for such ministers will never be maintained by the voluntary offerings of the churches. Meanwhile, ought the churches to endure these money bargains now ? this purchase and sale of souls ? Ought Christian men, by remaining in the Establishment, to give it their sanction and support ?

Immorality.—The word of God declares that a bishop, that is, a pastor of a church, must be blameless, not given to wine, not given to filthy lucre, but sober, just, holy, and temperate. (1 Tim. iii. 1-7 ; Tit. i. 5-9.) Immoral ministers are to be shunned by each Christian, and excommunicated by the church. (1 Cor. v. 11-13 ; 2 Thess. iii. 6.) Every Anglican church ought, therefore, to put away from them each immoral pastor. The churches do, indeed, recognize this duty. For in the twenty-sixth article we read, "It appertaineth to the discipline of the church that inquiry be made of evil ministers ; that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offenses, and finally, being found guilty by just judgment, be deposed." But their practice differs from their profession. The State and the Convocation together have deprived them of all power to remove their pastors, and have committed the power to a civilian appointed by the Crown to preside over the court of Arches. Immoral clergymen, therefore, if brought to account at all, must be tried before the judge, unless they are brought before the bishop himself by the new Correction of Clerks' bill.

Several decisions of the court of Arches have lately been before the public, which show to what an extent this court,

to which the Anglican Churches have resigned their right of discipline, protects them from immoral pastors. In the case of *Brooks v. Cresswell*, the judge, Sir H. J. Fust, said: "He was afraid he must come to the conclusion that Mr. Cresswell had been in the habit of frequenting public houses, of drinking on some occasions to excess, of sitting there smoking his pipe, and drinking half-and-half, that he was guilty of dropping out an oath, and on some occasions of using obscene expressions. Recollecting that he had already been suspended during the pendency of this suit, a period of eighteen months, he was of opinion, that if the court pronounced a further suspension of eighteen months, it would be but such a censure as the case required."¹

Thus a pastor who, according to scriptural injunction, ought to have been excommunicated by the church, was permitted to resume his pastoral charge of 1200 souls after a suspension of eighteen months, though he was convicted of having been an obscene drunkard; and provided that he was afterward more prudently vicious, the church could do nothing to remove him.

The Times of March 14, 1846, reported that Mr. Hodgson, vicar of Kington, &c., was charged with grossly immoral conduct. Although the proof was both circumstantial and direct, the judge refused to credit the witnesses on their oaths; upon which *The Times* made the following remarks:—

"The judge refused to credit the witnesses on their oaths. The fault of the witnesses was, in his opinion, their perfect concordance. Their testimony wore the air of a preconcerted scheme. Is there any precedent in any court of justice, in any country of the world, where criminal jurisprudence is carried on under fixed rules of procedure, where the concurrent testimony of three or four witnesses has been positively rejected, and held for naught, just on the very ground that it is concurrent? We call on the church herself to vindicate her purity, and to lop off from her still sacred body her profane and infamous members. The misjudging leniency sometimes apparent in the judgments of Sir H. J. F. is directly calculated to produce an impression on the public

¹ Record, Monday, Feb. 16, 1846.

mind that the spiritual body enjoys an indulgence in sin and an immunity from punishment far beyond what is allowed to the laity. When the poor parishioner hears of the rector of his parish being mulct in a small fine (temporary suspension is nothing more), or perhaps acquitted altogether of heinous crimes which he has himself seen perpetrated in the light of day, he can not feel satisfied that the law is impartial or that the church is pure. When such men as a Day, a Heathcote, a Loftus, and a Cresswell, are suffered to remain in the ministry, who can wonder that dissent increases, or that the people are vicious?"

The expense attending suits in the court of Arches, and the difficulty of securing the punishment of clerical offenders, seems often to give such offenders impunity in their crimes. In the spring assizes of 1846, Dr. B. of B., near W., was tried by Mr. Baron Parke on the charge of adultery. The jury found him guilty, and gave the plaintiff 250*l.* damages; but he remains still, as far as I know, the unmolested pastor of the parish. The civil court condemned him as an adulterer, the church retained him as their pastor. Mr. M., incumbent of —, near the town of P., who shamelessly avowed his vicious habits before the public, still continues the non-resident pastor to the same church, and, after paying a small stipend to a resident curate, is allowed to spend his large ecclesiastical income in idleness and vice at Paris, Milan, Vienna, or wherever he will.

It is thus that the State throws its shield over unworthy pastors. From any free church a pastor convicted of immorality would be dismissed; but under the protection of the State such pastors in the Establishment can generally defy censure. First, the State has settled that unless his vices can be legally proved, however notorious they may be, he must remain unmolested; and, secondly, if they are capable of legal proof, the State has committed the punishment of them to the discretion of a lawyer who may know nothing of the qualifications which Christ requires in the pastor of a church, and who may have much more sympathy with the offending pastor than with the injured church. The result is, that throughout 10,500 benefices,

pastors whose unfitness for their office is notorious, but who are prudent in their immorality, escape official censure, and remain the worthless pastors of degraded or indignant churches. For this scandal evangelical men who adhere to the Establishment are responsible.

The following case is reported in *The Record* of Oct. 19, 1848 :—

“Last week Mr. Commissioner Smith presided at the Gainsborough county court, when the Rev. F. Sturmer, insolvent rector of Heapham, presented himself for examination. His liabilities amounted to 2200*l.*, and the only sum given up was about 14*l.* Mr. Andrews appeared to oppose on behalf of a large number of creditors, and contended that the reckless way in which the debts had been contracted disentitled the insolvent to the protection of the court. He might here say that the insolvent had before taken the benefit of the act for 3000*l.* In this instance he was instructed to state, that all the trade debts had been incurred within two or three years, and without any reasonable prospect of being able to defray them. The debts amounted to 1100*l.*, and were contracted in 1846, 1847, and 1848, when, according to his own statement, his income was 245*l.*, and the occupation of land would increase it to 290*l.* He gave the insolvent no credit for honesty in the proposal to pay 50*l.* yearly, and ascribed it merely to the good advice and prudence of his solicitor. For five years his income had been 1106*l.*, or 221*l.* yearly; his expenditure 1762*l.*, or 352*l.* yearly, being 132*l.* a year more than his income. And while these debts were being contracted, he was under securities by which he knew that the goods he obtained might be swept off at any time as eventually they were. The judge said, it appeared to him that 100*l.* was only a fair sum to set aside for the benefit of the creditors. At the suggestion of Mr. Huddleston, the rev. insolvent retired with him, and, at the advice of his legal adviser, agreed to offer the 100*l.* He was proceeding to complain of the way he had been assailed by the newspapers in respect to some begging letters, when he was stopped by the judge, who observed that the best explanation would be faithfully to carry out the arrangement made. He had been living extravagantly and intemperately, and his difficulties were the consequence of that. His best answer to any imputation upon his honesty would be to do the best to pay the debts he

had so recklessly incurred. The insolvent said, he had then to pay 43*l.* a year to Queen Anne's Bounty. The judge wished to understand whether the insolvent proposed to pay 100*l.* a year to his creditors. The insolvent intimated his assent. Eventually the examination was adjourned. [The result is understood to amount to a refusal of protection, and that the final examination of the insolvent will be adjourned till he has bound himself by bond to pay the yearly sum of 100*l.* for the benefit of his creditors.]”

In this case all parties seemed satisfied, if one hundred pounds per annum out of the living should be set aside for the creditors. No man seemed for one moment to imagine that the pastor was disqualified for his office ; and provided that he was restrained from cheating his creditors, the commissioner, the attorney, and the creditors, all took it for granted that he would still retain his living ; in other words, would still be the only legal pastor of the church at Heapham, with the right of excluding every evangelical preacher from his pulpit and his parish.

Heresy.—By heresy is meant in the New Testament discord and dissension raised by a person or a party within a church (1 Cor. xi. 19 ; Gal. v. 20 ; 2 Pet. ii. 1) ; and by the word heretic, is meant a factious person who creates dissension (Tit. iii. 10). But in modern language a heretic is one who embraces any fundamental error. According to the New Testament, a man who is a heretic in this sense ought to be excommunicated, and the church ought to separate from him as from a person guilty of immorality (2 John, 10). Heretics are still liable to severe treatment in the Establishment. By 1 Elizabeth, cap. 1, “ All such spiritual jurisdiction as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power may lawfully be exercised for the correction of all manner of heresies, is for ever annexed to the Crown.”¹ Heresy is a legal ground of deprivation.² A bishop may pronounce sentence upon a heretic :³ and an obstinate heretic being excommunicated, is still liable to be imprisoned by force of the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, till he make satisfaction to the church.⁴ If in these laws the

¹ Burn, ii. 304. ² Ib. v. 341^b. ³ Ib. p. 105. ⁴ Ib. p. 307.

word heretic were always taken for one denying an essential doctrine of the gospel, they would take the correction of heresy from the church, of which it is a necessary function, to give it to the Crown and to bishops; but, further, the meaning which, if I mistake not, the law attaches to the term heretic, renders them intolerant and tyrannical. Any doctrine, I apprehend, which in the opinion of an ecclesiastical judge is contrary to the doctrine of "the church," however sound and scriptural the doctrine may be, is heresy: at all events, all opinions which are contrary to the doctrine of "the church" are treated, according to statute and canon law, exactly as heresy is treated. The minister who in his preaching deviates in the slightest degree from the doctrine of the prayer-book, is treated by the law as he would be if he denied the deity of Christ or the inspiration of the Bible. The punishment of a minister who denies any erroneous doctrine of the prayer-book is excommunication and deprivation; an obstinate heretic suffers nothing more. By the fourth canon, whoever affirms that the form of worship contained in the book of common prayer containeth any thing in it repugnant to Scripture, is to be excommunicated. By the eighth canon, whoever affirms that the forms of consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, contain any thing in them repugnant to the word of God, is to be excommunicated. Further, it is a doctrine of ecclesiastical law that an incumbent "speaking or preaching any thing in derogation of the book of common prayer, or using any other rite or ceremony, being thereof twice convicted, shall *ipso facto* be deprived."¹ If, therefore, a minister declares that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which he holds to be the doctrine of the prayer-book, is false and dangerous; or that ministers ought not to thank God for the death of wicked parishioners; or that the bishop ought not to say to each youth at his ordination, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost, whosoever sins thou remittest they are remitted;" such minister must be excommunicated and deprived.

The State and the Convocation have, also, specially

¹ Burn, vol. ii. p. 141^a.

guarded their thirty-nine articles from inconvenient criticisms. In the fifth canon we read, that whosoever shall affirm that the thirty-nine articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous is to be excommunicated. The 13th Eliz. cap. 12, s. 2, enacts as follows: "If any person ecclesiastical, or who shall have ecclesiastical living, shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine directly contrary or repugnant to any of the said articles, and being convened before the bishop of the diocese or ordinary, shall persist therein, and not revoke his error, . . . he shall be deprived of his ecclesiastical promotions."¹

If, therefore, any minister declare, against the twentieth article, that the church has not authority in controversies of faith; or, against the twenty-sixth, that evil men do not minister by Christ's authority, and that Christians ought not to continue under that ministry; or, against the thirty-sixth, that the ordination-service for priests contains in it expressions which are superstitious and ungodly, he is liable to excommunication and deprivation.

Let no one think that these laws are inoperative because few ministers are thus excommunicated and deprived: so completely do they answer their purpose that scarcely any Anglican minister ventures on any free examination of these guarded writings. Few men will indulge in a criticism to which are appended penalties so terrible. Since criticism would lead to deprivation, the prospect of deprivation extinguishes inquiry. The system escapes the shame of persecution by repressing independent thought. It does not expel good men from their parsonages, but it warps their judgment. It would crush them if remonstrant, but it achieves a more complete victory by making them submissively acquiescent; and the errors of the prayer-book triumph over successive generations.

But while the State is thus severe against those who controvert the least doctrines of the prayer-book, it leaves unmolested many who maintain an open warfare against important doctrines of the Bible. Anglo-Catholic ministers by hundreds diffuse those doctrines, of which I have alrea-

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 105.

dy offered some specimens, without reproof; and thousands, it is to be feared, still more mischievous than these erring but earnest men, have a rooted dislike to the doctrines of grace; deny justification by grace through faith without the deeds of the law; deride the conversion and sanctification of sinners by the Holy Spirit; mislead and confirm in their indifference the churches over which they preside; and are unblamed. Ought evangelical men to sanction all this by their adherence to the Establishment?

Schism.—The doctrine and practice of the Establishment respecting schism are not less unsatisfactory. The Anglican churches so far recognize and fraternize with the Church of Rome, that Roman Catholic priests when they become Protestants are recognized as ministers of Christ, and may preach in our churches without reordination. The late Archbishop of Canterbury also officially recognized the corrupt Greek Church as a sister church in the instructions which he gave to Bishop Alexander on his departure for Jerusalem; but while Roman priests, and Greek priests, still more degraded, are recognized to be ministers of Christ by the Anglican Churches, these maintain a complete separation from the purest churches of Christ, and disown their ministers. Schism in the New Testament is dissension among Christians who ought to be united as brethren (1 Cor. i. 10; xi. 18; xii. 25). It is not schismatical to refuse to unite with fellow-Christians in those things which are forbidden by Christ, for here we must refuse all union; nor in those things which are not enjoined by Christ, for here we must have liberty of judging for ourselves. It was not schismatical, therefore, in the Gentile Christians of the apostolical churches to refuse to conform to the Jewish ritual when the Jewish Christians did so; and if a schism arises in a Christian church on account of any doctrine or practice, those who, in a Christian spirit, maintain the true doctrine and the right practice, are not the authors of the schism, but those who uphold the false doctrine and who insist on the corrupt practice. Thus, when a schism arose in the church of Antioch, and Paul resisted openly Peter and Barnabas, he

was not the schismatic when he energetically disturbed their Judaizing doctrine and practice ; but they, because they upheld them.¹ So pious and peaceable dissenters are no schismatics. As each man is bound to follow Christ's will in all things, numbers of enlightened and excellent men, who have thought the union of the Establishment with the State a corrupt junction with the world, and a disregard of Christ's authority ; its prelacy unscriptural, its system of patronage mischievous, its formularies erroneous, its discipline at once tyrannical and relaxed, its claims arrogant, and its spirit worldly, have felt compelled to abandon it, that they might fulfill the law of Christ, by maintaining a more scriptural form of church government with a purer discipline. They felt their duty to be imperative ; their right has been recognized by statute, and they now amount to some millions, who are not less moral and religious than the soundest part of the Establishment. Their nonconformity can not in itself be schism, because the Anglican ritual is no more enjoined on them than the Jewish ritual was on the early Christians ; and as uniformity of worship has not been enjoined, variety and liberty are likely to be more useful. Their voluntarism can not be schismatical, because there is no hint in the New Testament of a union between Church and State. Their rejection of prelacy does not render them schismatics, because prelacy is a human arrangement subsequent to the apostolic age, without sanction of Scripture ; and their independence in local churches can not be schismatical, because all the apostolic churches were independent. There was no association of churches, such as the Church of England or the Church of Scotland, in primitive times, nor was one church subject to another. The church at Philippi was independent of the church at Thessalonica, and the church at Thessalonica was equally free from the control of the church at Corinth. Each Christian assembly in the apostolic age was independent of all the rest, and, therefore, each congregation now may, without schism, follow that precedent. The Anglican Churches were therefore bound

¹ Gal. ii. 11-14.

to respect their Christian liberty, and fraternize with them, churches with churches, ministers with ministers, and members with members. If this brotherly concord were manifested, their differences in the form of worship and discipline would be minor evils. The churches of Christ being one in doctrine, in obedience to the will of Christ, and in heart, would snatch from the Roman Catholics their favorite argument against the Protestants, and from unbelievers their most usual weapon against Christianity. Let Christians, notwithstanding their differences in discipline, be one in heart and action, and the beautiful spectacle of liberality, disinterestedness, and affection, would conquer the world's unbelief. (John xvii. 20, 21.) United, they could much more effectually labor to remove ignorance, to oppose vice, and to preach the Gospel. If the world saw that Christians generally associated with Christians, without asking whether they were Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist, then their differences would be reduced to their just dimensions, and their common faith be exalted. Among all denominations, too, there are not very many stirring, earnest, experienced, and able preachers of the Gospel; but if all these divided the land among them, and, with fraternal concord, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Wesleyans, were to preach in all congregations which now have evangelical pastors, a revival of religion would probably ensue much more extensive than that in the time of Whitefield. Multitudes of congregations, now cold and negligent, would manifest unwonted earnestness, and myriads of souls would be saved. What narrow-minded ritualists would dread as disorder is Christ's order. This fraternization of pious men of all denominations is the standing law of Christ's church, the necessary condition of its health. We must achieve it.

But, at present, the union renders it impossible. While the Anglican Churches admit Roman Catholic priests and Greek priests to be ministers of Christ, they excommunicate his purest churches and his most faithful ministers. By canons 4, 5, 6, 7, all dissenters are excommunicated as impugnors of the Anglican form of worship, articles

ceremonies, and church government. Canon 10 is as follows :—" Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that such ministers as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God's worship in the Church of England, prescribed in the communion-book, and their adherents may truly take unto them the name of another church not established by law, . . . let them be excommunicated." Canon 11 is as follows :—" Whosoever shall hereafter affirm or maintain that there are within this realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations of the king's born subjects, than such as by the laws of this land are held and allowed, which may rightly charge to themselves the names of true and lawful churches, let him be excommunicated." Canon 12 adds, " Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that it is lawful for any sort of ministers and lay persons, or either of them, to join together, and make rules, orders, and institutions, in causes ecclesiastical, without the queen's authority, and shall submit themselves to be ruled and governed by them, let them be excommunicated."

Canon 27 is headed : " Schismatics not to be admitted to the communion," and orders that no minister shall admit to the communion those who are common and notorious depravers of the book of common prayer," &c. ; or those who maintain that any part of the prayer-book is unscriptural.

Thus the Establishment excommunicates the whole body of dissenters, and all those who acknowledge their churches or their ministers.

In the apostolic age a schismatic obtained unenviable notoriety by the following censure of the apostle John : "*I wrote unto the church : but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not . . . prating against us with malicious words : and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church.*" In what does the spirit of these canons differ from the spirit of Diotrephes ?

While the Establishment condemns the dissenters as schismatics, because they have obtained more knowledge

of the Scriptures in some points than Anglicans have, it is itself schismatical, disowning the purest churches of Christ, excommunicating brethren whom it ought to receive into fellowship, and heaping opprobrium on the most faithful and enlightened followers of the Redeemer.

Some deceive themselves by supposing that these canons are obsolete and forgotten. But any ecclesiastical judge will tell him that they are living laws of the church, which the pastors are bound to obey and which he is obliged to enforce. Not an Anglican minister dare speak against their authority or controvert their doctrine, except he dare also to brave the vengeance of the law. In fact, they exercise a general and disastrous influence over Anglican ministers. Why are the most experienced and honored ministers of the free churches excluded from the pulpit of every evangelical pastor of the Establishment? Why do the best Anglican ministers live in this act of schism? Why are multitudes of evangelical pastors afraid and ashamed to associate with the pastors of free churches, as honored and as blessed by the Redeemer as they are themselves? Why do so few Anglican ministers support the Bible Society, the Tract Society, the London City Mission? Why have they so combined against the Evangelical Alliance? Why did the "Christian Observer," the organ of the evangelical ministers of the Establishment, month after month, rail against the servants of Christ in other churches, and pour out its bitterness upon those who upheld an effort to promote that brotherly affection among Christians which our Lord has so solemnly enjoined? Why is there almost no friendly association in private between Anglican ministers and the ministers of any other denomination? Why are pious Anglicans afraid and ashamed to enter into a dissenting chapel? Thus by actions more significant and cutting than words do pious Anglicans brand the purest and most spiritual churches of Christ in this land as schismatics with whom they ought to hold no communion. This offense against charity is rank, and cries to heaven. Roman Catholics are flattered by it, the saints of Christ are dishonored, his churches are rent into factions, his cause is

impeded, his name is blasphemed. How long is this to continue by the support of evangelical men?

Refusal to perform Ministerial Acts.—"Whatsoever is not of faith is sin;" and therefore every minister ought to be fully persuaded in his own mind, *after due examination of the word of God*, that what he does is right.¹ But the union prohibits to the Anglican minister this exercise of conscience with respect to several ministerial acts.

[i.] *Baptism.*—Baptism, according to the New Testament, should be preceded by repentance and faith, being a solemn profession of both.² Many think that the children of believers, being dedicated to him, and about to be trained up for him, ought to be admitted to baptism, as though they were penitent believers, in virtue of their parents' faith. But as ungodly parents do not dedicate their children to God, nor intend to train them up for his service, being unbelievers themselves, it is obvious that the intention of the ordinance, and all the prerequisites demanded by the New Testament in candidates, are set aside when the children of ungodly parents are baptized. Each minister ought to refuse to baptize such. Their baptism inflicts injury on the children, on the parents, on the church, and is a contempt of a solemn ordinance of Christ. But no Anglican minister must exercise his judgment, or listen to conscience in any such case which is brought before him, unless he is prepared to endure a suspension from his office for three months: for the law is, "No minister shall refuse or delay to christen any child that is brought to the church to him. And if he shall refuse, he shall be suspended by the bishop of the diocese from his ministry by the space of three months."³ The consequence is, that no children are refused, the ordinance is desecrated, children are deceived with the idea that they are regenerated, which hinders them from seeking regeneration; multitudes of persons, with nothing of religion but the name, become

¹ Rom. xiv. 5, 23.

² Matt. x. 32; Rom. x. 8, 10; Mark xvi. 15, 16; Acts ii. 38, 41; viii. 12, 13, 37; ix. 17, 18; x. 44-47, &c.

³ Can. 68.

members of the Anglican Churches ; Christ's churches are corrupted ; there remains no difference between the churches and the world ; the cause of Christ is checked, and religion itself is blasphemed, because of the multitude of "baptized heathens." All this is sanctioned and perpetuated by Christian men and Christian ministers adhering to the Establishment.

[ii.] *The Lord's Supper.*—Christ has invited to his table, as welcome guests, none but his disciples. The bread and wine represent his body and blood ; to eat that bread and wine represents the reception of him as our crucified Saviour into our hearts ; and to eat this publicly is to profess before the world that we receive him. Believers only can properly receive the Lord's Supper, since they only are invited ; and all others "*eat and drink condemnation to themselves, not discerning the Lord's body.*"¹ It must be, therefore, the duty of each church, not to admit profane and ungodly persons to that ordinance. "*Now I have written to you,*" says the apostle, "*not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one no not to eat. . . . Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person.*"²

These sins are often matters of notoriety, when they are not capable of legal proof. Some of them are not cognizable by law. Hence each church ought to have complete power to admit persons to fellowship with themselves at the Lord's table, or to exclude them. But the union has destroyed the right of the church to interfere in this matter. By 1 Edw. VI. cap. 1, the State has enacted that "the minister shall not, without a lawful cause, deny the same" (the sacrament) "to any person that shall devoutly and humbly desire it." All parishioners, therefore, have a statutory right to the Lord's Supper unless they are legally disqualified. According to law, a minister may reject from the Lord's table a person whom he can legally prove to be an open and notorious evil liver, or one in whom malice and

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 29.

² 1 Cor. v. 11-13.

envy reign ; but if he is not prepared with his legal proof, the State gives each parishioner whom he excludes from the table the right of suing him in a court of law. He may reject a pious man who scruples to be confirmed by the bishop, or who thinks it superstitious to kneel at the table, or who denies the supremacy of the Crown, or who condemns any part of the prayer-book ; but he must not reject one who frequents the ball-room and the theater, runs into debt, eats and drinks to excess, and is a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God. Thus the law of the Establishment compels him to exclude many of the disciples of Christ from his table and to admit to it many of his enemies ; whereby the guests become a miscellaneous assemblage, from whom some pious persons have thought it to be their duty to withdraw, that they might seek elsewhere the communion of saints. The gathering of guests at the table of Christ is determined by Parliament, not by the invitations of the Master. Warned off by canons, which have been sanctioned by the Crown, but are disowned by Christ, his guests are excluded from his feast ; and, armed by an act of Parliament, his enemies force their way to it. The sacred Supper, which ought to gather round it none but brethren, lies almost as open to all sorts of comers as a theater or a ball-room. Where two or three of his disciples meet in his name, there is he presiding over them and blessing them (Matthew xviii. 20) ; but as to these miscellaneous collections, from which the world has thrust out many of his disciples, and into which it has forced many of its devotees, is he there ? The churches ought to keep the guests of Christ's table select ; but their rights are trampled under feet. Christ's ministers ought not to allow his table to be thus invaded ; but they are compelled to be the administrators of the State law, which sanctions the invasion.

[iii.] *Burial.*—The time when friends commit to the grave the remains of one departed is so solemn that a minister ought to improve it to the utmost for the benefit of the survivors. Then especially, when their hearts are softened to receive instruction, should he explain clearly

the nature of true religion, enforce its importance, guard them against self-deception, and leave them in no doubt of the characters to which the Scripture assigns a happy and a miserable doom respectively. Such being the nature of the occasion, the State, by the Act of Uniformity, has ordered that the parish minister should use over each body which he commits to the grave these words, "It hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed." "Almighty God, . . . we give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world." No man could use these words over an unregenerate and unpardoned sinner who has gone to the judgment-seat to give account for his unrepented rejection of Christ, whose soul is lost, and who is shut up among the damned forever, knowing all this of the dead man, without awful falsehood and cold-blooded cruelty to survivors. Now, many persons in every parish so live and die that the minister has much more reason for fear than for hope respecting them. Their lives were ungodly, their last hours afforded no indication of a change of heart, the minister has reason to believe that they are lost. Over the corpse of one of these to declare that God has taken to himself the soul of a dear brother, when there is ample proof that God has banished from him the soul of an enemy; to bless God for delivering a brother from the miseries of this life, when death has too probably consigned an unbeliever to the miseries of hell, would involve some measure of falsehood and of cruelty. A minister ought not to make these declarations over those whom he has reason to think died unbelieving and unpardoned; but he must make them. He owes it to truth and charity to refuse; but canon 68 enacts, "No minister shall refuse . . . to bury any corpse that is brought to the church . . . in such manner and form as is prescribed in the book of common prayer; and if he shall refuse to bury (except the party deceased were denounced, excommunicated, *major excommunicatione*, for some grievous and notorious crime, and no man able to testify his repentance), he shall be

suspended by the bishop of the diocese from his ministry by the space of three months." If he makes these declarations, he either leads ungodly survivors to suppose that he thinks the dead man to be safe, or that he uses words contrary to his convictions that he may keep his place; if he refuse to make them, he must be suspended for three months. The consequence is, that these words are used over all the ungodly myriads of our country who die in profound ignorance, in complete unbelief, and in utter impenitence, leaving survivors to follow their fatal courses with a hope that they too will, at their departure, be blessed by God and be honored by the church. An evangelical minister tells his congregation from the pulpit that unless they be born again they can not enter the kingdom of heaven, and so describes true religion that it is evident the great majority are not truly religious; and although no apparent change occurs in many of them to the time of their death, he then says of them all, that they are his dear brethren whom God has taken to himself out of the miseries of the world. Our Lord and Saviour has made the following solemn declaration: "*Enter ye in at the strait gate; for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat; because strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.*"¹ Recognizing the authority of these statements, Anglican ministers on the brink of each open grave declare the road to heaven to be so broad that the whole nation get into it before they die. In their pulpits they teach that "*many are called, but few chosen;*"² but in their churchyards they virtually declare the whole parish, including the drunken and the dissolute, to be chosen. Their creed is, that "*if any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, he must be anathema maranatha;*"³ and their proclamation over all their dead parishioners who gave no sign of love to the Lord Jesus Christ to their last moment, is, that they are gone to God and glory.

The Performance of Ministerial Acts without Authority.—Another class of offenses punishable by ecclesiastical

¹ Matt. vii. 13 14.

² Matt. xxii. 14.

³ 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

law comprehends all those ministerial acts for which a pastor has not received ecclesiastical authority.

There are two ecclesiastical offenses peculiar to a deacon. The first is the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. The Anglican priest at the administration of the Lord's Supper reads a "prayer of consecration," and is directed to lay his hand upon the bread and upon the cup; now if a deacon were to do this he would be guilty of an ecclesiastical offense. The act is made penal by the 13th and 14th Charles II. cap. 4, which enacts as follows: "No person shall presume to consecrate the sacrament of the Lord's Supper before such time as he shall be ordained priest."¹ The second diaconal offense is pronouncing absolution. When a deacon is ordained priest the bishop says to him, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest. . . . Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven." Hence when he visits a sick man, and the sick man makes confession of his sins, the prayer-book directs as follows: "The priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, *who hath left power to his church to absolve* all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offenses; and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins,' " &c. But should the deacon thus absolve any one after a similar confession, he would commit an ecclesiastical offense. This is laid down by Dr. Burn in the following terms: "The deacon may perform all other offices in the liturgy which a priest can do, except only consecrating the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and except also pronouncing the absolution . . . That the priest only, and not the deacon, hath power to pronounce the absolution seemeth most evidently to be deduced from the acts of ordination."² The deacon may instruct the ignorant, argue with the infidel, reclaim the backsliding, console the dying, preach to the congregation, administer the bread and wine at the Lord's table, reprove, rebuke, and exhort, and in the office of a pastor "feed the flock of God," but if he consecrate

¹ Burn, vol. iii. p. 58.

² Ib. pp. 59, 60.

the bread and wine, or pronounce the absolution, he is liable to censure for his presumption.

Another ecclesiastical offense, which may be committed by an Anglican pastor, is preaching without license. It is true that every one who is, according to the ordination service, "moved by the Holy Ghost," and "called according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ," to become a minister, is bound by our Lord's commission, as far as he can, "to preach the Gospel to every creature : " (Mark xvi. 16) ; but the canons have determined that he must have the license of the bishop as well as a commission from Christ and a call from the Holy Spirit. If a careless incumbent preach once on each Sunday, though his sermons be mere moral essays in which the saving doctrines of the Gospel find no place, if he read other men's sermons as being himself unable to compose, no authority in the Establishment can molest him ; but if a minister be zealous, and seeing parishes round him in which the people are rude and vicious, and in which the Gospel is not faithfully preached, should pass the bounds of his parish to preach Christ to them, he may preach with all the wisdom of Paul, and hundreds may be converted by his ministry, yet if he has done this without the license of the bishop, he is liable to punishment. "No clergyman whatever of the Church of England has any right to officiate in any diocese, in any way whatever, as a clergyman of the Church of England, unless he has a lawful authority so to do ; and he can only have that authority when he receives it at the hands of the bishop."¹ Accordingly, Mr. Keith, minister of Mayfair chapel, a chapel-of-ease to St. George's, Hanover Square, officiating without license, was excommunicated in the court of the bishop of London, reported to Chancery, and the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* issued against him.²

If he could get the bishop's license to preach in the neglected parishes round him, any zealous minister would be stopped by the ungodly incumbents : "For there is no general principle of ecclesiastical law more firmly established than this, that it is not competent to any clergyman to

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 306^b.

² Ib. vol. ii. p. 188.

officiate in any church or chapel without consent of the incumbent.”¹

The result of these laws is, that multitudes live and die without hearing the Gospel preached to them ; unfaithful pastors are upheld in their indolence and false doctrine ; pious ministers, restrained in their zeal, grow lethargic in the routine of their duties in very small villages ; and whereas the Gospel ought to be “preached to every creature,” and there are enough of evangelical ministers to accomplish this command, the command of Christ is made of none effect by our traditions. (Matt. xv. 3-6.)

But the state of an incumbent is perfect liberty compared with the thralldom to which our church discipline, at once so relaxed and so tyrannical, has doomed curates. No curate can officiate in any diocese without the license of the bishop ; that license the bishop may withhold without reason assigned ; and without reason assigned he may revoke it at his pleasure. Uncharged, therefore, with the commission of a single offense, untainted with error, and unblemished in life, an experienced, able, and faithful minister of Christ may be driven from any diocese without defense, without trial, without appeal, without the right of complaint, as though he had been convicted of the worst errors or had been disgraced by notorious crimes. As the consequence of this state of the law, Mr. Kyle was lately refused a license by Archbishop Whately for manifesting his kindness to his Christian brethren, according to Christ’s command, by joining the Evangelical Alliance ; and the archbishop declared his determination to withdraw his license from any curate who should join it. When a curate is thus dismissed from a diocese, he is in danger of utter ruin. For the forty-eighth canon enacts as follows : “Curates and ministers, if they remove from one diocese to another, shall not be by any means admitted to serve without testimony of the bishop of the diocese whence they came, in writing, of their honesty, ability, and conformity to the ecclesiastical laws of the Church of England.” The practice founded on this canon is for each bishop to demand

¹ Burn, vol. i. p. 306.

from any minister who requests his license a testimonial from the bishop of the diocese in which he last served. This wanting, he must be rejected; and therefore, unless an ejected curate obtains a living, his dismissal from a diocese is nearly equivalent to an ejection from the Anglican Church.¹

It may be supposed by some, that those who feel their conscience to be wounded by the demands of the Establishment, their zeal to be checked by its restrictions, and their liberty to be oppressed by prelatie power, may withdraw, to exercise their ministry in other denominations. But not to mention the general notion that episcopacy is of divine origin, which would hinder some from seceding, and the inveterate fancy that dissent from the Established Church is schism, which would hinder others, not to speak of the disruption of pleasant friendships, and of the violence done to cherished tastes, which are often involved in a separation from the Establishment, it is forbidden by canon, to every Anglican minister, ever to exercise his ministry in another denomination. In the eye of "the church," all dissenting churches are companies of schismatics, and their ministers are laymen living in schism. To become a dissenting minister is therefore, according to our ecclesiastical law, to relinquish the ministry, and become a layman in a state of schism. And this is forbidden by the seventy-sixth canon in the following terms: "No man being admitted a deacon or minister shall from thenceforth voluntarily relinquish the same, nor afterward use himself in the course of his life as a layman, upon pain of excommunication." The effect of this canon has been recently proved in the case of Mr. Shore, the excellent minister of a congregation at Bridgetown, near Totness. A new incumbent having taken possession of the living of Bury Pomeroy, in which Bridgetown is situated, informed Mr. Shore, whose evangelical principles he did not like, that he, (Mr. Shore) required, in consequence of the new incumbency, to have a new nomination to be minister of the congregation at

¹ Driven from the diocese of Dublin, Mr. Kyle found no ark of safety from the prelatie storm within Ireland, and has gone to Jersey.

Bridgetown, which he meant to withhold. The new incumbent refusing to nominate, and the bishop of Exeter withdrawing his license, Mr. Shore was about to be forcibly separated from an attached congregation, to which he had been for some years a faithful and blameless pastor. Rather than desert the church over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, and where he had received many seals to his ministry, he registered his chapel as a dissenting place of worship, and continued to be the pastor of the flock as a dissenter. For this he was cited into the court of Arches, which decided that he could not divest himself of the character of a minister of the Church of England, nor therefore officiate without license. The privy council to which he appealed confirmed the sentence of the court of Arches ; when he petitioned the House of Lords, that House disregarded his petition ; and eventually he was admonished by the court of Arches not to officiate within the province of Canterbury ; warned that if he disregarded the sentence of the court he must expect severer treatment, and was condemned in his poverty to pay the whole costs of the proceedings, of which his own share had already been above seven hundred pounds, about one thousand pounds more being now imposed upon him. He has continued to preach, and it remains to see what further severity the bishop means to use.

But that which under this head of discipline seems to me most to condemn the union of the Anglican Churches with the State is the easy independence, the total impunity, the absolute freedom from all ecclesiastical censure, with which numbers of Anglican pastors are living in a manner which in any free churches would be considered to unfit them for the pastoral office. Some have no acquaintance with the doctrines of the Gospel ; some add to false doctrine the Anglo-Catholic practices which are leading their congregations toward Romanism ; some betoken a worldly and covetous spirit by actions for the recovery of their dues and frequent contention with their parishioners ; some are pursuing the pleasures of literature to the almost total neglect of theology ; some spend hours and days in

shooting ; others waste more time and more money in hunting ; the names of many appear in the lists of attendants at balls and races ; and others read to their congregations the sermons of others, copied from books or bought in manuscript ;¹ and after going through the minimum of official duty required by the State, spend the rest of their time in the most trivial employments. All these remain in their neglect unmolested. Their churches have no legal right to complain ; the bishops can do nothing but enforce the law, the requirements of which they fulfill ; and under the wing of the State they can defy interference.

To any one who considers for what purposes Christ has instituted the pastoral office, and what results flow from a faithful ministry, it is melancholy in the highest degree to reflect how this union of the Church with the State authorizes the blind to lead the blind, the dead to be bishops of the dead. Ought they who see the enormous evil to perpetuate it by remaining within the Establishment ? Patronage will ever introduce multitudes into the ministry, for the sake of livings, who have neither talent nor taste for it,

¹ A friend of mine lately heard a sermon of Robert Hall's, interlarded with a few high-church expressions, preached in the parish-church at Hythe. I am acquainted with a person, who not long ago, told me that he was getting his livelihood by writing twelve sermons weekly for clerical correspondents. A clergyman, with whom I am acquainted, once told me that he had never written a sermon, and could not write one. I counted lately 150 volumes of second-rate and third-rate sermons in a clergyman's library, containing altogether about three hundred volumes. And the following advertisements appeared lately in the "Record :"—

"MANUSCRIPT SERMONS.—The minister of a large congregation in London is willing to supply another clergyman from his stock of original sermons, or to compose sermons on given texts and occasions. Correspondence confidential.

"For a specimen sermon and terms, address to D. E., Post-office, Goswell-street Road, London."

"MANUSCRIPT SERMONS.

"To CLERGYMEN who from ill health, or other causes, are prevented from composing their own sermons, the advertiser offers his services on moderate terms. Original sermons composed on any given texts or subjects.—N.B. A specimen sent if required.

"Address L. S. W., Post-office, Winchester."

without piety and without knowledge ; and the State, protecting them from the just consequences of their inefficiency, will ever leave them at full liberty to preach other men's sermons, neglect all pastoral labor, and indulge in discreditable indolence, provided that they baptize every child, and bury every corpse, pronounce the prayer-book to be altogether scriptural, and do not violate the canons by friendship toward pious dissenters.

SECTION VI.—*The Influence of the Union on the Evangelization of the Country.*

We have seen what reason there is to fear that thousands of incumbents are unconverted men who entered the ministry from worldly considerations, who do not understand the Gospel, who dislike the evangelical ministers of the neighborhood, who support no evangelical institutions, who indulge in worldly amusements, who neglect their parishes, and over whom neither the government nor the bishops exercise any effectual superintendence. Their parishes, for the most part, remain profoundly ignorant of the Gospel. The population of England is likewise increasing at the rate of about 200,000 annually ; and as agriculture can not find employment for many more than those who are already engaged in it, these new myriads find their way chiefly to the cities, where the pastors of all denominations being already too few, they must be considered as adding to the population which is destitute of religious instruction. To all these untaught millions, both in villages and in cities, the Gospel ought to be preached ; it is necessary for their welfare. Here let me beg the reader solemnly to consider the import of the following passages of the word of God : “ *The carnal mind is enmity against God ; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. . . . You hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins. . . . Ye were the servants of sin. . . . Except a man be born again he can not see the kingdom of God. . . . We were by nature the children of wrath even as others. . . . As many as are of the works of the law are*

under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them. . . . All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God. . . . The wages of sin is death. . . . God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. . . . He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life. . . . He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. . . . By him all that believe are justified from all things. . . . This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. . . . I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord. . . . Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. . . . They went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them. . . . I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise; so as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you that are at Rome also. . . . Necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel! . . . The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me. But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God. . . . They called them, and commanded them not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John answered and said to them, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye: for we can not but speak the things which we have seen and heard. . . . And when they had called the apostles, and beaten them, they commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name. And daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ. . . . And at that time there was a great persecution

*against the church which was at Jerusalem ; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles. Therefore they that were scattered abroad went every where preaching the word. . . . Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen traveled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word. And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned to the Lord."*¹

These passages clearly show the danger and ruin of those who are ignorant of Christ ; the value of the Gospel ; that it is the express will of Christ it should be preached to every creature ; that the apostles and first Christians preached Christ every where, and would allow no authority to hinder them ; and that God blessed their labor to the conversion of sinners. With these passages of Scripture in view, it can not be doubted that the disciples of Christ in England are bound to make him known to all in the country who, being ignorant of the way of salvation, are willing to listen. To obey this command of Christ, to accomplish this work of charity, *to proclaim salvation by grace through faith to every one in the country willing to listen, is quite within their reach.*

Out of sixteen thousand ministers of the Establishment, if three thousand are evangelical and earnest men, these three thousand, by a well-organized home mission, could bring the gospel to almost the whole country. The parishes of England and Wales are not twelve thousand ; and how easy it would be for each evangelical minister to preach once a month to each of three parishes contiguous to his own ! Assuming, then, that there are three thousand evangelical ministers in the Establishment, these might easily preach the gospel once a month in nine thousand parishes besides their own. Such extra official efforts

¹ Rom. viii. 7 ; Eph. ii. 1 ; Rom. vi. 17 ; John iii. 3 ; Eph. ii. 3 ; Gal. iii. 10 ; Rom. iii. 23 ; vi. 23 ; John iii. 16, 36 ; Mark xvi. 16 ; Acts xiii. 39 ; John xvii. 3 ; Phil. iii. 8 ; Mark xvi. 15, 20 ; Rom. i. 14, 15 ; 1 Cor. ix. 16 ; Acts xx. 23, 24 ; iv. 18-20 ; v. 40-42 ; viii. 1, 4 ; xi. 19-21.

would prove new life to their own congregations ; and each church, emulating the earnestness of its pastor, would become a center of evangelization to all its neighborhood. What the evangelical church of Lyons has done of late years under its pious pastors, enlightening and blessing many neighboring villages, the three thousand Anglican Churches, with evangelical pastors, could do likewise. Were good men unfettered, there are enough of them in the Establishment to make the Gospel known throughout the land to every one willing to listen.

But much more than this could be done at once. Besides three thousand evangelical pastors of Anglican Churches, there are above six thousand evangelical pastors of free churches, who are generally better fitted than their Anglican brethren to address the poor, by the popular habits to which the organization of the free churches has formed them. All these, by the law of Christ, ought to be one in heart and action (John xvii. 20, 21). All ought to receive one another to their hearts and houses, as Christ has received them (Rom. xv. 7 ; xiv. 1). All ought to be of one heart and of one soul (Acts iv. 32). All ought to aid each other in the warfare of the church of Christ with the unbelief of the world (Phil. i. 27). Imagine these nine thousand ministers of Christ heartily combined to do their utmost for the spiritual welfare of the sixteen millions of their countrymen ; to hold frequent meetings for consultation and prayer ; to preach in each other's pulpits ; to establish the stated preaching of the gospel in every parish of the land ; to hold together Evangelical Alliance meetings ; to manifest to the churches and to the world the unity of Christ's followers in place of a spurious dead uniformity ; and to urge all their flocks to united benevolent exertion for the welfare of their several neighborhoods : these efforts would, with the aid of the Holy Spirit, never withheld from earnest and prayerful exertion, occasion a vast revival of religion in the whole country. But if they could do this, they are bound to do it ; for "*to him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin.*"¹

¹ James iv. 17.

Like St. Paul, we are debtors to do all the good in the world which we can do.¹

But the union forbids these evangelical exertions, and thus perpetuates the ignorance of millions. It has secured the ordination of many ungodly ministers, it maintains them unmolested in their ungodliness, and excludes the Gospel from their parishes. The union of Christians to evangelize the country is prohibited, the union of the churches with the world is upheld. Christians ought to be acting together for Christ and his cause; but Anglican ministers, while they fraternize with his enemies at visitations and other ecclesiastical meetings, regard the pious pastors of free churches, Independent, Baptist, and Wesleyan, as schismatic intruders. Schism is called unity, and unity stigmatized as schism. The evangelists, who most reach the spiritual wants of the poor, and without whom the moral darkness of the land would be deeper and deadlier still, are represented as noxious; and even earnest Anglicans are afraid to countenance and own them. The force of combined action is worse than lost, and the ministers of Christ spend their time in neutralizing each other's efforts. Combined, they would evangelize the country; but the union has effectually enfeebled both, first, by forcing its servants into schismatic separation from their brethren, and then, by discountenancing the separate efforts of non-conformist ministers and churches.

Having thus erected insurmountable barriers to the united efforts of Christians, the next work of the state union is to prevent the separate efforts of zealous Anglicans to evangelize the country. In the first place, no minister may preach in any parish except his own without leave from the bishop—a license sure to be withheld if he was to wish to enter upon any parish where the incumbent does not preach it. In the second place, the bishop's license would be vain; for the law forbids a minister to preach in any church or chapel in any parish without the consent of the incumbent. And lest, with the bishop's consent, he should collect the people in these benighted parishes into a

¹ Rom. i. 14, 15.

schoolroom, barn, or cottage, to hear the Gospel, the seventy-first canon ordains, "that no minister shall preach in any private house" on pain of suspension for the first offense, and excommunication for the second.

These laws have done their work. Not a single effort is made by the pious ministers of the Establishment to preach the Gospel exclusively to their countrymen. As 6681 parishes have less than 300 souls in each, robust and educated men spend their energies upon 200 or 300 villagers, with whom even, as they are laboring on the farms all day, they have little pastoral intercourse, and leave thousands around them in the deepest ignorance of the Gospel. Not one generous irregularity breaks the deadly calm; not one complaint even interrupts the silence. The parochial system has buried all in slumber, and in view of dying myriads, each minister of the Establishment seems to have adopted the defense of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Once, indeed, in our day, a generous effort has been made in connection with the established church to invade the regions of death. A home missionary society was organized in Ireland, which, including among its supporters the best ministers in the country, was from the first eminently successful. Station was added to station, circuit to circuit, and one minister after another joined the zealous fraternity till the mission covered nearly the whole of the island. Each parish heard with astonishment the doctrines of grace preached, not by some ignorant fanatic, but by the most able and accomplished ministers of the Establishment successively. Protestants flocked to hear, Roman Catholics began to inquire, thousands heard the Gospel who had never heard it before. On no single effort of Protestant zeal in Ireland did the divine blessing more manifestly rest; and every year the prospect was brightening, when an enemy determined to arrest its progress. All the indolent and worldly clergy were vexed and humbled when they saw with what zeal the associated ministers were preaching, and with what eagerness the people flocked to hear them. An action was brought against one of the mission-

ary preachers for officiating in a parish without the consent of the incumbent, and the preacher was condemned. From that time the opposition of the Irish prelates to the scheme was more decided, and at length this most influential method of reviving piety among the Protestants, and of attracting Roman Catholics to the Gospel, was renounced as uncanonical and irregular. By that judgment the question has been set at rest. Unconverted and worldly ministers in the Establishment are now secure from the intrusion of the Gospel into their moral deserts, and the Gospel is excluded from thousands of parishes where it might easily be preached. Do not the pious men who, by adhering to the Establishment uphold this system, seem responsible for the consequences ?

SECTION VII.—*Influence of the Union upon the Union of Christians.*

Of the numerous disciples of Christ, regenerated by the Spirit, justified by faith, and living in obedience to the commands of Christ in the British islands, many are to be found in the established churches of England and Scotland ; and a much greater number in the free churches, in the Independent, Baptist, Wesleyan, and Presbyterian churches of England, in the Presbyterian and other free churches of Scotland and Ireland. All these are bound by many obligations to be united in heart and in effort for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ. They are sheep of the flock of Christ, they are fellow-servants in his household, they are fellow-soldiers in his army, they are members of his body, they are brethren of the family of God. And if they are divided and quarrelsome, it is as unnatural and disgraceful as if the sheep of the same flock, the servants in the same household, the soldiers in the same army, the members of the same body, and the brothers of the same family, should be enemies to one another. The reasons for their union are many and obvious. They are children of one Parent who loves them all, and who wishes them to be united ; they are the servants of one Saviour, who

has redeemed them all by his blood, and who would be dishonored and grieved by their disunion. They maintain the same great truths, they obey the same authority; they are seeking alike to glorify God and to save souls; they all, and they alone, honor Christ by their lives; they are all sanctified by the same Spirit, have embraced the noblest principles, and are adorned with the greatest social virtues. They are all laboring to serve their fellow-creatures, they are opposing with similar zeal the vice and the ungodliness of the world. God will welcome them all as his adopted children to heaven, and they will spend eternity together in the exercise of perfect affection toward each other. The truths on which they agree are incomparably greater than those on which they differ; their common interests are much more important than their rival interests; their own welfare, and the welfare of the world, is essentially connected with their union, and their union is so important that the Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles have declared it to be a mark of discipleship to him, a prelude to the world's belief, and therefore their necessary duty. Let us listen to his words and theirs: "*A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another.*¹ . . . Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.² . . . Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations.³ . . . Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us to the glory of God.⁴ . . . Now, I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them.⁵ . . . Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."⁶ Whatever, therefore, hinders this union and encourages schism, both cor-

¹ John xiii. 34, 35.² John xvii. 20, 21³ Rom. xiv. 1.⁴ Rom. xv. 7.⁵ Rom. xvi. 17.⁶ Eph. vi. 24.

rupts the churches and prevents the progress of religion in the world.

But either the union of the Anglican Churches with the State, that is, with the world, must be discontinued, or their union with other churches must remain impossible.

Let the following canons of the Establishment, the living law by which its pastors are governed, and to which the judicial decisions of its prelates and ecclesiastical judges must be conformed, be well considered.

Canon 9. "*Authors of Schism in the Church of England censured.* Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the apostles' rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood, . . . let them be excommunicated," &c.

Canon 10. "*Maintainers of Schismatics in the Church of England censured.* Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that such ministers as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God's worship in the Church of England prescribed in the communion book, and their adherents, may truly take unto them the name of another church, . . . let them be excommunicated."

Canon 11. "*Maintainers of Conventicles censured.* Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that there are within this realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations of the king's born subjects, than such as by the laws of the land are held and allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches, let him be excommunicated."

Canon 12. "*Maintainers of Constitutions made in Conventicles censured.* Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that it is lawful for any sort of ministers, and lay persons, or of either of them, to join together and make rules, orders, or constitutions, in causes ecclesiastical without the king's authority, and shall submit themselves to be ruled and governed by them, let them be excommunicated," &c.

Canon 27. "*Schismatics not to be admitted to the Communion.* No minister when he celebrateth the communion shall wittingly administer the same to any but to such

as kneel, under pain of suspension, nor under the like pain to any that refuse to be present at public prayers according to the orders of the Church of England, nor to any that are common and notorious depravers of the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and of the orders, rites, and ceremonies, herein prescribed, or of any thing that is contained in any of the articles . . . or to any that have spoken against and depraved his majesty's sovereign authority in causes ecclesiastical," &c.

By these canons many of the most sober, learned, and holy men in this country, all the Independent, Baptist, Wesleyan, and Presbyterian churches, and their ministers, with all who own them to be true churches and their ministers true ministers, are excommunicated. They are shut out from the company of Christians as heathens and publicans, with whom Christians ought to hold no fellowship, and who are to be excluded from the Lord's Supper.

Episcopal charges are often in harmony with these canons, condemning the purest churches, the most zealous Christians, and the most devoted ministers of this country, as schismatics, with whom the clergy should have little association. What may be expected from proud and worldly-minded men when one of the most eminent of our evangelical bishops has thus written in his latest charge? "Much less is our church a sectarian body, as some would call it; that is, a small number of persons who have cut themselves off from the mass of Christians by certain peculiarities; but the national church of the government, nobles, and people, of our religious country at home and abroad. . . . Walk in charity and holy wisdom toward the different bodies of Christians not of our own church. *The less we are drawn into either familiarity or controversy with either of them the better.*" To violate the plain and positive direction of the Apostle Paul, "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye" (προσλαμβάνεσθε¹); "Receive ye

¹ Προσλαμβάνω, in the middle voice, is to take to oneself, as a helper or partner. Generally, in the New Testament, it expresses open and manifest association with another, and not any mere feeling.

one another" (προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους) openly to your friendship and familiarity, seems to this excellent bishop "holy wisdom." Alas! it is a wisdom which "descendeth not from above" (James iii. 15). What may we not look for from weak and pompous incumbents when one of the most able and pious of our Anglican ministers has lately written thus when assigning some reasons why he would not join the Evangelical Alliance? "Speaking for myself, I feel myself pledged most willingly to the Episcopal Established Church of England, *and I can do nothing which merges that church as one of many coequal sects in England.*" To associate with dissenters in the Evangelical Alliance places the ministers and members of the Establishment on an equality with the ministers and members of the free churches; and this is what this excellent minister can not do. Notwithstanding his dissent, the Establishment is only one among various coequal sects in England; its pious members are bound by apostolic precept to receive the members of other churches as brethren, that is, their equals in the Lord; but then because it is established, that is, united with the world, paid, honored, and flattered by the world, this excellent minister can not so recognize them. With him, therefore, the union is clearly the great hindrance to brotherhood. Were there no pretensions of an Establishment to be maintained, he would associate with the good and the wise of other denominations; but the supremacy of the Establishment must not be endangered, and for its sake he must shun their society. It is precisely when his disciples are dishonored and depressed that the Lord Jesus Christ calls all who are not so troubled to own, honor, and help them:¹ exactly because the brethren of Christ in dissenting churches are not honored by the State, should their Anglican brethren manifest all brotherly kindness toward them; but the union so inflates the mind, and so warps the judgment, of even good and able men in the

(Acts xvii. 5; xviii. 26; xxviii. 2; Philem. 12, 17, &c.) This open, generous fellowship with all our Christian brethren Paul enjoins, and the good bishop forbids.

¹ Let the reader consider attentively Matt. xxv. 31-46.

Establishment, that they think it their duty to augment and to perpetuate their depression.

Answerable to these canons and maxims is, unhappily, the usual practice of the Establishment. No young dissenter, however great his abilities, however rare his attainments, and however estimable his character, can take a degree at either Cambridge or Oxford. No minister of a dissenting church, however eloquent, wise, or holy, can be admitted to an Anglican pulpit. The most consistent members of unestablished churches are excluded from the table of their Lord, against his wishes, when Anglicans assemble at it. Even when they meet to celebrate the love of the Redeemer to his whole family, Anglicans exclude his beloved friends from his own table. Let a Roman Catholic priest, who has spent his life in misleading the people by superstitious doctrines and practices which he did not believe, renounce communion with the Church of Rome, though with an unconverted heart, as poor Blanco White, and he is recognized at once as a minister of the Establishment; but the most devoted ministers of Christ in England, Scotland, or Ireland, whose talents and virtues are an honor to their country, who have been regularly ordained as pastors in their own denomination, and upon whose ministry God has set the seal of his approbation by the conversion of hundreds; if they are non-conformists, must be reordained by the hands of a prelate, or the ecclesiastical law will still account them intrusive laymen; and will sternly deny them, even as conformists and Anglicans, the right of preaching to the people.

The more private intercourse of Anglicans with their brethren of free churches becomes, under these circumstances, exceedingly restricted. Few of the clergy will sit on the same committee with dissenters. Few join the Bible Society or the Tract Society; and fewer still the London City Mission or the Evangelical Alliance, although the tokens of the blessing of God have been abundant in the history of each of these four institutions. Against the latter, evangelical ministers and magazines have been violent and unfair. An archbishop has declared he will withdraw

his license from any curate who joins it; and, under the dread of prelates and patrons, of incumbents and canons, nearly all the curates of the Establishment, and all but about 300 of the incumbents, have refused to offer this manifestation of brotherly kindness to their fellow-disciples.

Friendly, social intercourse of a more domestic character between Anglican and other pastors is almost wholly unknown. Out of 16,000 clergy, are there sixty who are in habits of friendly association with dissenting pastors at their own houses? In their paradise of privilege, smiled on by parliaments and patrons, Anglican pastors seem to say to all others, "Between us and you there is a great gulf fixed."

Political enmity, as might be expected, rolls in its thundering tides to widen the gulf still more. Prerogatives to be preserved make the clergy eager political Conservatives; while wrongs to be redressed, and mischiefs to be abated, hurry dissenting pastors into association with the Whigs. Both grow eager, both dislike each other for that eagerness, and the strife between them grows more acrimonious. The unnatural schism, product of a union no less unnatural, confirms unbelievers in their skepticism, prolongs the noxious existence of Roman Catholic priesthood, and perpetuates the world's levity and ungodliness.

For all these mischiefs who are chiefly responsible? Were the union between the Anglican Churches and the world dissolved, their union with other churches of Christ would become practicable. And if evangelical ministers so cherish their union with the world as to make their union with their brethren impracticable, will they not have to answer for it to God and to posterity? And when future generations shall have to pronounce that their virtues and wisdom lent the adulterous union of the church with the world its chief support, and more than any other cause prolonged the schism which rent the churches of Christ, will not the Christians of happier days, in the unknown future, record their conduct with deep regret? With shame and sorrow will the Christian historian of those times have to speak of the Anglican Churches of our day in the following tone:—

“The Anglican Churches of that day placed themselves under the spiritual government of a legislature composed of all sorts of characters, chosen by the world and representing the world. They were commanded to come out of the world and to be separate; they were assured that the friendship of the world is enmity to God; they knew that they were commanded not to be conformed to the world, not to love the world, because if any man love the world the love of the father is not in him;¹ but they voluntarily sought the world's society, accepted the world's bribes, allowed the world dominion over them, and were so blended with the world that the world seemed the church and the church the world. Their prelates were nominees of statesmen, who were generally worldly men, and were often, therefore, worldly-minded as their patrons. These worldly prelates they owned as the ambassadors of Christ, and gave them a despotic dominion over themselves and their pastors. The aristocracy chose their pastors, whence it happened often that worldly pastors were chosen by worldly patrons and ordained by worldly bishops. In utter neglect of the qualifications of a Christian pastor, detailed in the New Testament, they allowed to these worldly pastors, who were themselves ignorant of the Gospel, such a power of excluding the Gospel from their parishes, that no evangelical Anglican could ever preach to them. All the children of the parish were admitted to baptism; all the gay and the thoughtless, after confirmation, to the Lord's table. The discipline of each church they committed to the care of ecclesiastical judges appointed by the law, and to lawyers whose acquaintance with the ecclesiastical laws afforded no security that they either knew or loved the Gospel. Amid this confused and worldly mass in the Anglican Churches, the true disciples of Christ were few and scattered; but they justified, with a strange tenacity, the adulterous union of the church with the world. And because their dissenting brethren, as wise and holy as themselves, protested against it, they disowned them, they refused to them their pulpits, banished them from the table

¹ 2 Cor. vi. 14, 17; James iv. 4; Rom. xii. 2; 1 John ii. 15

of the Lord, shut the doors of their houses against them, and would never fight the battles of the Lord by their side. And yet these men, so linked to the world, so buried in the world, were Christians. They maintained the doctrines of grace, they lived pious lives, they were estimable and useful ministers. How strangely may habit, interest, and prejudice, blind even the best men to obvious duty!"

There are some noble exceptions to the general practice, but do these do all that they should? Why should pious churches and their pastors wait for others to heal the schism? let them heal it for themselves. Let every liberal and loyal disciple of Christ in the Establishment own pious dissenters as brethren, their churches as churches, their ministers as ministers of Christ; let them support zealously those societies in which pious and peaceable men of various sects work harmoniously together, especially the Evangelical Alliance, the best testimony on behalf of the duty of brotherly kindness to all our fellow-Christians which has been given in our day; let them attend dissenting chapels, support dissenting missions, receive with them the Supper of the Lord, ask them to their houses, and claim for them admission to the pulpits of the established churches: then they will fulfill the command of Christ by his apostle, "*Receive ye one another, as Christ also received us to the glory of God.*"

SECTION VIII.—*Influence of the Union on the Reformation of the Churches.*

When churches discover that they have fallen into error and sin, they ought at once to repent and reform themselves. To each church within the Establishment, and to its pastor, does our Lord still speak by his epistles to the churches of Asia Minor thus: "*I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent. . . . I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there*

*them that hold the doctrine of Balaam. . . . Repent, or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth. . . . Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die; for I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember, therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent. If, therefore, thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief. . . . I know thy works that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. . . . As many as I love I rebuke and chasten: be zealous, therefore, and repent: . . . he that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.”*¹

Much reformation is urgently needed throughout the Establishment. The State should no longer exercise any supremacy in spiritual things over the churches, who ought in temporal things to be subject to the queen and to the Parliament as all other subjects are, but in spiritual things should be subject to Christ alone. Prelates, if they continue at all, should no longer be nominated by the Crown, nor sit in Parliament, nor be ennobled by their episcopate, but be simply ministers of the Gospel, chosen, as in the United States, by the churches and ministers over whom they are to preside. Each church, according to Christ's law, should nominate its own pastor. Presbyters, independent of the bishop, should be associated with him in the examination and ordination of ministers. A declaration of belief in the Bible as the inspired word of God, and a general acceptance of the thirty-nine articles in their plain meaning, ought to be substituted for an insincere and ensnaring subscription to the prayer-book. The canons, liturgy, rubrics, and articles, should be re-considered, and made harmonious with the word of God. The baptismal and burial services should be amended. The sale of livings, that is, the sale of souls, ought to be repudiated by the churches. The tyranny of the Episcopal license ought to be abolished, and all ministers who have been solemnly admitted to the ministry *as called to it by the Holy Ghost*,

¹ Rev. ii. 4, 5, 14, 16; iii. 2, 3, 15, 19, 22.

ought to have full liberty to exercise their ministry in conformity with Christ's laws and the regulations of the churches. Pastors who are free from church censures ought to be permitted to preach Christ freely in every part of the kingdom, subject, of course, to church censure, should they in the ministry be guilty of any offense against Christ or their brethren. The exercise of church discipline should again be vested in the church and its pastor, according to apostolic usage. The administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper should be rendered less indiscriminate. Bad members of churches ought to be warned by the church, and, if necessary, excommunicated. No secular legal consequences should follow excommunication; bad pastors should be removable from any church by the votes of three-fourths of the members. Pious dissenting pastors ought to be admitted to Anglican pulpits, and pious dissenters to the Lord's Supper in Anglican churches. The churches should be more separated from the world, and more united with their fellow-Christians. To effect these objects, the Establishment ought to have the right of self-government restored to it by the State, free from all State control in spiritual things.

If the Establishment were an association of free churches, these reforms might be easily effected; but the union prevents their accomplishment. No authority at present existing in the church can effect them. A vast power is, indeed, lodged with the Crown by the following terms of 1 Eliz. cap. 1: "Any such jurisdiction, privileges, superiorities and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority, have heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for the reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, offenses, contempts, and enormities, shall forever be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."¹ But this power is unscriptural, and could not now be tolerated in its full exercise either by Parliament or by the churches. Bishops

¹ Burn, vol. iii. p. 659.

neither have, nor ought to have, such power. And that the churches may reform themselves, some general assembly is needed, which might examine their whole condition, and legislate accordingly.

But such an assembly the legislature will never grant : when the Convocation was prorogued in 1717 it was nullified forever. Any revived representation of the Establishment which should be more than a name would raise so many hazardous questions, would engage in such obstinate disputes, and, if ever united, would wield a power so inconvenient to each successive government that no statesman will venture to permit it. The discussions of the Scotch assembly, their vigorous legislation, the resistance of the patrons, and the apparition of the vast Free Church rising armed from the rolling vapors of those stormy debates, have made our statesmen dread any similar experiment in England. Without the assent of the queen no Convocation has any right to assemble, and that assent will be withheld. When met, the Convocation could not act, since without a fresh assent no Convocation can form a single canon ; without a further assent no canons can be executed even when formed, and after the royal assent has been fully given, canons may bind the clergy, but can not bind the churches till they are ratified by act of Parliament.¹ Will Parliament ever intrust to a Convocation this perilous business of reform ?

Should the legislature, however, give to a Convocation unfettered liberty to reform the churches, it would immediately manifest its incompetency. The lower house of Convocation consists of twenty-two deans, twenty-four proctors of chapters, fifty-three archdeacons, and forty-four proctors for the parochial clergy. There are, therefore, ninety-nine dignitaries and representatives of cathedrals, forty-four representatives of the clergy, and no representatives of churches. Dignitaries are very slow to reform abuses of which their own privileges form a part ; civilians are very reluctant to remodel laws which form their professional science. And if the forty-four lawyers who rep-

¹ Burn, vol. ii. pp. 30, 24, 27.

resent the clergy were disposed to reform the Establishment, what could they do against the ninety-nine votes pledged to privilege? Such a Convocation would be useless, even if the desire of reform were general in the country. But that desire is wanting. The bishops are against a reform, because it would remove their successors from the House of Lords, and by implication condemn their own baronial dignity; patrons are against it, because it would, perhaps, destroy their right to enrich their families with church property; incumbents are against it, because it would invade their spiritual monopoly, making them dependent on their congregations; and the churches care little for it, because it would, perhaps, impose on them the burden of paying their own pastors. If among the pastors of the Anglican Churches there are any earnest and generous men who mourn over the disgraceful state of these churches, they can scarcely think of reformation with safety. Whoever affirms that the rites of the church are superstitious is excommunicated; whoever declares the present government of the Establishment to be repugnant to the word of God is excommunicated; whoever affirms that the form of consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it any thing repugnant to the word of God is excommunicated; and those are also excommunicated who affirm that dissenting ministers and their adherents are churches of Christ.¹ Any meetings of ministers to consider how they might promote the reformation of the Establishment would expose them to the same penalty, according to the following enactment of the seventy-third canon: "Inasmuch as all conventicles and secret meetings of priests and ministers have ever been justly accounted very hurtful to the state of the church wherein they live, we do now ordain and constitute, that no priests or ministers of the word of God, or any other persons, shall meet together in any private house, or elsewhere, to consult upon any matter or course to be taken by them, or upon their motion and direction by any other, which may any way tend to the impeaching or depraving of the doctrine of the Church of England, or of

¹ Canons 6-12.

the book of common prayer, or of any part of the government and discipline now established in the Church of England, under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*. . . . A man under excommunication can neither sue in any action nor make his will; and if he remain forty days without satisfying the church, may be arrested and imprisoned by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*.”¹ With these ruinous penalties before their eyes, there can be no confidential discussions among ministers of the Establishment respecting its errors and faults, nor, indeed, any free inquiry. They are yoked to its car, and must help to drag it along the ruts which centuries have wrought into its road; and though they see that there is a precipice before them they can neither stop nor turn. Few even wish it to be reformed. *In all ages and countries the privileged classes have stuck to privilege till it was too late.*

These facts account for the remarkable silence on these matters which is maintained by all classes in the Establishment. If the churches had been spiritual and free, coextensive with the population of the country, and abounding in the fruits of piety, if all its ministers had been exemplary, its temples filled with attentive congregations, its churches all growing in grace, there could scarcely have been a more complete absence of self-condemnation and complaint among the clergy than there is at present. Even the most pious utter no remonstrance against crying evils and avert their eyes from them. They can study every branch of polite literature, discuss political questions, examine unfulfilled prophecies, expose the fallacies of Romanism, or refute the reasonings of infidels; but that which claims their first attention, upon which their investigations ought to be the most earnest, their conclusions the most clear, their efforts the most energetic, can not evoke one expression of opinion, or secure even superficial inquiry. Among all the events of our own day, none have involved more important principles, or have called forth greater virtues, than the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland, and the persecution of the Free Church of Vaud.

¹ Burn, vol. ii. pp 245, 247, 248.

Neither have excited more than a passing and partial interest in members of the Establishment. Few have studied their principles. Most, even of the pious Anglicans with whom I have conversed, have condemned those churches without any examination, or disliked them without any definite cause for their dislike. The reasons are plain to all the world.

I have no hope, therefore, of a general reformation originating with the Establishment. The government dare not attempt it. The dignitaries of the church have neither the will nor the power requisite, and the most pious of its members are fettered. Those persons, therefore, who remain within the Establishment support its abuses without any rational prospect of seeing them removed. Apparently the errors and scandals connected with the system must last as long as the system itself; and it becomes a serious question for a pious man to answer, Whether he may uphold those evils by adhering to it, for the sake of his own ease, from consideration of the interests of his family, or from regard to any supposed expediency whatsoever?

The only remedy within reach is for each church and pastor, who see these evils, to do their duty by reforming themselves without waiting for others. Those who "tremble at the word of God"¹ ought solemnly, as in his presence, to consider their duty in this matter. "*Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. . . . Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. . . . For whatsoever is not of faith is sin.*"² Let each keep a good conscience, and do what he believes the Judge will at the last day approve. Each church can refuse to receive any longer a salary from the government for its pastor, and can pay the salary itself. It can therefore, nominate its own pastor. It can dismiss an ungodly pastor and choose a pious pastor instead. It can resume, according to Christ's law, the exercise of discipline. It can separate from the world, by excluding from the Lord's table those who are known to be frivolous and ungodly. It can

¹ Isaiah lxvi. 2.

² Rom. xiv. 5, 22, 23. -

unite with all Christians in preaching, in prayer, in the sacraments, in benevolent action, and in social fellowship. It can hold church-meetings with a view to promote brotherly feeling among the members, to unite in social prayer, to seek a revival of religion among them, and to consider how they may benefit their neighborhood ; and pastors may aid and encourage their churches to effect this godly reform, leaving the consequences to God in the assurance that he does not forget his promises, "*Them that honor me I will honor, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.*"¹ . . . *Therefore, take no thought, saying, What shall we eat ? or, What shall we drink ? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed ? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek ; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.*"²

SECTION IX.—*Influence of the Union upon the Progress of Religion in the Country.*

All men are created by their Maker for his own glory ; and they are therefore required to love him with all their heart, to obey his laws, to be devoted to his service ; and since they have neglected all this, through the corruption of their nature, he expects that they repent of their sins, seek his mercy through faith in the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and earnestly implore the renovation and sanctification of their hearts by the influence of his Holy Spirit.³ Failing to do this, they remain in the condition described in the following passages of the word of God : "*He that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him. . . . He that believeth not shall be damned. . . . As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse ; for it is written, Cursed is every one*

¹ 1 Sam. ii. 30.

² Matt. vi. 31-33.

³ Prov. xvi. 4 ; Rom. xi. 36 ; Rev. iv. 11 ; Matt. xxii. 37 ; Eccles. xii. 13 ; 1 Cor. vi. 30 ; Rom. xii. 1 ; Matt. v. 3 ; Luke xiii. 2-5 ; Mark xvi. 16 ; John iii. 16 ; iii. 3, 5 ; Luke xi. 13

*that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them. . . . If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema maranatha, an accursed thing. . . . When the Lord cometh, he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire. . . . When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe."*¹

It is essential to men's welfare that they should be converted, sanctified and saved, "*What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?*"² The progress of true religion, therefore, in a nation, is of more consequence to it than its liberties and laws, its industry and its commerce. Without religion its inhabitants perish; and religion carries with it liberty, prosperity, and power.

But when our Redeemer was on the earth, he said to his relations in Galilee, "*The world can not hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it that the works thereof are evil.*"³ The same dislike still attaches to his Gospel. Men, in general, are still unwilling to submit to his holy law. "*The carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.*"⁴ And nothing but the influence of earnest and consistent Christians can turn them to God. The word of God, though a perfect revelation of himself and of his will, lies neglected and unknown where there are not living Christians to vindicate its claims. But earnest and consistent believers call attention to it, enforce its authority, expound its meaning, illustrate its principles by their lives, prove by their own experience that obedience to its laws is practicable, compel men to see the beauty as well as the possibility of true religion, and draw sinners to Christ.

¹ John iii. 39; Mark xvi. 16; Gal. iii. 10; 1 Cor. xvi. 22; Matt. iii. 12; 2 Thess. i. 7-10.

² Matt. xvi. 26.

³ John vii. 7.

⁴ Rom. viii. 7.

And this is their vocation. *"Ye are the salt of the earth. Ye are the light of the world. Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. . . . I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service. . . . For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. . . . Ye are not your own; for ye are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's. . . . Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people: that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."*¹

If all Anglican Christians lived answerably to this calling, they would accomplish, with the aid of the Spirit, the moral transformation of England.

To enable them more effectually to serve God and the world, Christians have been gathered into societies or churches, which at the first were composed of saints, and labored for the conversion of sinners. The primitive churches are thus addressed in the letters of Paul:—

"Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, . . . to all that be at Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints."

"Paul, called to be an apostle, . . . unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints."

"Paul . . . to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus."

"Paul to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi."

"Paul to the saints and faithful brethren which are at Colosse."

¹ Matt. v. 13, 14, 16; Rom. xii. 1; xiv. 7-9; 1 Cor. vi. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 9.

*"Paul unto the church of the Thessalonians. . . . We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers ; remembering, without ceasing, your work of faith, and labor of love, and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight of God and our Father ; knowing, brethren beloved, your election of God. . . . We are bound to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth."*¹

These primitive churches, being thus composed generally of "saints and faithful brethren," labored in the cause of Christ, and converted sinners to him. The faith and piety of the church at Jerusalem are recorded in the second chapter of the Acts. The result is thus stated : *"And the Lord added to the church daily τοὺς σωζομένους, the saved."*² When the members of this pious church were driven from their homes by persecution, *"They that were scattered abroad went every where preaching the word ; and some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who when they were come to Antioch spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them ; and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord."*³

The Romans manifested so much piety, that their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world.⁴ The Philip-pians willingly shared in Paul's labors and sufferings for the sake of the Gospel.⁵ And to the church at Thessalonica Paul wrote, *"Ye were ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia. For from you sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place your faith toward God is spread abroad ; so that we need not to speak any thing."*⁶ There are 13,000 Anglican Churches, resembling in numbers the churches of Thessalonica and Philippi If all

¹ Rom. i. 7 ; 1 Cor. i. 2 ; Eph. i. 1 ; Phil. i. 1 ; Col. i. 2 ;
1 Thess. i. 1-4 ; 2 Thess. ii. 13.

² Acts ii. 47 .

³ Acts viii. 4 ; xi. 20, 21.

⁴ Rom. i. 8.

⁵ Phil. i. 7.

⁶ 1 Thess. i. 7, 8.

these were, like the primitive churches, composed of "saints and faithful brethren," laboring for the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls, how soon would the whole nation be leavened by the Gospel !

For the improvement of the churches and for the conversion of the careless, Christ has further appointed pastors and evangelists, of whom we read in the New Testament as follows : "*He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists (εὐαγγελιστάς), and some pastors and teachers (ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους), for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.*¹ . . . *A bishop must be blameless, apt to teach, not covetous, not a novice.*² . . . *A bishop must be a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful word.*³ . . . *The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder and a witness of the sufferings of Christ ; feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly ; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.*⁴ . . . *Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.*⁵ . . . *Meditate upon these things, give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear unto all. Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine : continue in them : for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee.*"⁶ If the 16,000 pastors and ministers of the Anglican Churches were living according to these divine commands, England would soon turn to Christ.

But what is the actual state of the Establishment ? Myriads of its members have nothing of Christianity but the name, received in infancy by baptism, and retained without one spontaneous act of their own ; and millions do nothing whatever to promote the cause of Christ Its 13,000 churches are generally without evangelistic activity, without brotherly fellowship, without discipline, without spirituality, without faith. Like Laodicea, they are luke-

¹ Eph. iv. 11, 12.

² 1 Tim. iii. 2, 3, 6.

³ Tit. i. 7-9.

⁴ 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.

⁵ Acts xx. 28.

⁶ 1 Tim. iv. 15, 16

warm ; like Sardis, they have a name to live and are dead.¹ Of its 16,000 ministers, about 1568 do nothing ;² about 6681 limit their thoughts and labors to small parishes, which contain from 150 to 300 souls ; while others in cities and towns profess to take charge of 8000 or 9000 souls.³ And of the 12,923 working pastors of churches, I fear, from various concurrent symptoms, that about 10,000 are unconverted men, who neither preach nor know the Gospel.

When churches become corrupt and inert, and when their pastors become worldly, mercenary, and proud, it is impossible that unbelievers should renounce their skepticism, or that religion should make progress in society. Whatever, therefore, corrupts the churches of a nation, is fatal to the nation itself. But the Anglican churches and pastors are corrupted ; and the union being one principal cause of their corruption, the union is at this time one great obstacle to the progress of religion in the country.

The union checks the progress of religion in the country by placing the Anglican Churches under the ecclesiastical government of worldly politicians assembled in Parliament, including Roman Catholics and Unitarians, who control them in spiritual things, determine the mode in which their pastors are to be chosen, perpetuate their false doctrine, and prevent the exercise of discipline. How can the blessing of God descend upon this union of the churches of Christ with strangers to him ? How can churches so governed ever bring the nation to faith and godliness ?

The union checks the progress of religion in the country by giving undefined and arbitrary power over the churches to prelates, who, being the nominees of politicians, must be often worldly as their patrons. These worldly prelates exercise incalculable influence upon the churches by their example, by their chaplains and archdeacons, by their extended patronage, by their discretionary power in ordination, by their tyrannical right of license, and by their visitation charges ; all which influence increases the worldliness and the deadness of the Establishment.

¹ Rev. iii.² Horsman, p. 20.³ Horsman, pp. 20, 21.

The union checks the progress of religion in the country by giving to worldly patrons the right of naming the pastors of the churches. Continually may the rich and the great, of whom our Lord has said that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for them to enter the kingdom of heaven,¹ pour over the parishes of the land a majority of worldly presentees like themselves. In addition to this, they hold fast under their worldly influence all the expectants of preferment, who can look for income and prosperity from nothing but their favor; and thus they can effectually defeat all efforts to raise the churches to more spirituality, faith, and love.

The union further checks the progress of religion in the country by investing these worldly nominees of worldly patrons with exclusive spiritual jurisdiction, under the bishops, in their respective parishes. I fear that about 10,000 out of the 12,900 pastors of the Establishment, manifest, by their opposition to evangelical doctrine and their dislike of evangelical societies, by their want of earnestness in their ministry, and their hatred of pious and peaceable dissenters, that they are unconverted men. Yet to these the union gives the right of excluding from their parishes all Anglican ministers who are more enlightened and more earnest than themselves. The parishioners have no voice in the matter. For, "There is no general principle of ecclesiastical law more firmly established than this, that it is not competent to any clergyman to officiate in any church or chapel within the limits of a parish without consent of the incumbent."² The whole parish may desire to hear the Gospel from the lips of a stranger. His preaching would, perhaps, revivify the church, they have a natural right to hear him, but the union has given the negligent, idle, and ungodly pastor, the right of declaring that they shall hear no one but himself.

It is impossible that the Establishment, under the control of worldly politicians, led by worldly prelates, and taught by worldly pastors, chosen by worldly patrons, can possibly extend the empire of spiritual religion through the

¹ Matt. xix. 3, 4. See also 1 Cor. i. 26; James ii. 5-7.

² Burn, vol. i. p. 306.

land. How can worldly prelates and pastors make men better than themselves? Themselves unconverted, they must leave their countrymen unconverted too. And so long as worldly politicians and worldly patrons have the absolute nomination of the pastors of the Establishment, so long the Establishment must be worldly and the nation irreligious.

The union further checks the progress of religion in the country by leading to a common belief that Anglican pastors are mercenary. Nothing is more fatal to the influence of pastors than this belief concerning them, except, indeed, it be to be guilty of the sin laid to their charge. But to this the union tempts many pastors. When peerages and palaces, deaneries and prebendal stalls, masterships and fellowships, rich livings and pleasant mansions, glitter before the eyes of young men as rewards of clerical talent, how can they fail to be attracted by them? Many of the cleverer sort, and of those connected with patrons, certainly become pastors, not from delight in the duties, but through desire for the gains. It is no less certain, that the world, in which the love of money is a prevailing passion, believes this to be more generally true than it is in fact. How can they see men, who are remarkable neither for piety nor pastoral diligence, but men of good abilities, or with great connections, climbing to the possession of ecclesiastical power and wealth, without believing that they chose the profession for the sake of those glittering rewards? And if this belief is wide-spread among the people, as it must be, what can more effectually neutralize the religious influence of the clergy, or more generally expose religion itself to popular contempt? Still more, how can they see livings, that is, the pastor's income and the pastor's right, bought and sold with all the bargaining which would attend the sale of a cargo of sugar or of cotton, without feeling that their pastors are not heaven-sent, nor heirs of apostolic authority?

The nomenclature of "the church" is further calculated to establish this conviction in the minds of the multitude, and shows to how great a degree the idea of personal honor

and advantage is connected with the clerical profession. Seldom are the clergy of the Establishment called pastors, ministers, or presbyters, the names by which the New Testament designates the preachers of the Gospel ; but they are called as follows :—

Prelates, *prælati*, advanced before others.

Dignitaries, those who have attained to dignity.

Rectors, *rectores*, rulers.

Incumbents, from *incumbens*, lying upon any thing, an incumbent load which the Church must support.

Parsons, *personæ*, the chief persons of the parish.

And their office, instead of being called the pastoral charge, or episcopate (*ἐπισκοπή*), as it is in Scripture (1 Tim. iii. 2), is termed—

A Living, or that which will enable the incumbent to live ;

A Benefice, *beneficium*, a thing for his advantage ;

And a Preferment, a thing to advance him in the world.

How could these names have superseded the scriptural names, unless the ideas which they convey had first superseded the true ideas of the ministry of the word, both among clergy and people ? And now they bear their fruit, and the professed ministers of Christ are believed to seek honor, ease, and wealth, just as the lawyer, the merchant, or the tradesman.

There are some, indeed, who are, beyond suspicion, earnest and painstaking men, who are destined to fill no stalls and to wear no miters, upon whose teaching the blessing of the Spirit rests. They are the strength of the Establishment ; they give a salutary impulse to the piety of the nation ; they bring a blessing on the land. And these are hindered and crippled by the union. Frowned on by unevangelical bishops, by the potent magnates of their neighborhood, and by the worldly incumbents, who feel condemned by their zeal, they must admit all sorts of persons to the sacrament, they can exercise no discipline within their churches, they must not preach Christ beyond the narrow bounds of their own parishes ; and while condemned to associate as brethren at visitations and confirm-

ations, &c., &c., with unconverted men, who dislike them and their principles, they are obliged to refuse their pulpits to the most fervent evangelists among their brethren of free churches; dare not associate with them freely, or generously own them, and thus share in the guilt and mischief of the Anglican schism.

The union further hinders the progress of religion in the country by checking the activity of the Anglican Churches. These churches are destitute of activity, of discipline, and of brotherly fellowship. Their members generally do little to promote the salvation of souls; they are quietly associated in church-membership with those who make no profession of godliness, and they are strangers to each other. The union has done all this, because it has given them worldly pastors to be their rulers and incumbents; it has taken the right of discipline out of their hands; it has given to nearly all parishioners, not being "saints and faithful brethren" of free churches, the right of admission to Christ's ordinances, and has bound up, in one frozen mass, those who have no agreement in doctrine, no mutual esteem, no common objects, and no church-meetings. This indiscriminate admission to the sacraments is especially mischievous. Every ungodly parishioner may bring his child to be made "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven," by baptism. All the devotees of money and of pleasure, if confirmed, may come of right, fresh from the theater and the ball-room, from Melton and Newmarket, to the table of the Lord, which in one place becomes the rendezvous of fashion, in another remains neglected and despised, in all has lost its distinctive character as a communion of saints.

From the apostolic churches the word of the Lord sounded forth; and they shone among their neighbors as lights. Their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world, and walking in the fear of the Lord and the comfort of the Holy Ghost, they were multiplied.¹ But what number of Anglican Churches out of the 13,000 thus bless their neighborhoods, and spread around them the knowledge of

¹ 1 Thess. i. 2, 3, 6, 8; Phil. ii. 15, 16; Rom. i. 8; Acts ix. 31.

Christ? When the church of Jerusalem was threatened by the powerful and abhorred by the bigot, but strong in faith, confessed the lordship of Christ, consented to great sacrifices for his sake, met often in his name, and loved each other as brethren, then "*the Lord added to the Church daily τοὺς σωζομένους, the saved :*"¹ and to such a church he would add them again. But how can these Anglican Churches, half church, half world, lying open to all comers, except the saints in dissenting churches, a miscellaneous aggregate of all characters, principles, and opinions, act upon the conscience or the heart of any worldly man? The unbeliever scorns the impure mixture, and the mass of the people are increasingly alienated from them and from their pastors.

The union further checks the progress of religion in the country by perpetuating schism. Preventing all revision of the canons, it holds down the bishops, ecclesiastical judges, and clergy, to the corrupt and schismatical dogma that dissenters are schismatics. Although they alone have awakened many a country village from a deathlike torpor, and through them two or three millions of our countrymen in cities and manufacturing districts, who would have been without instruction ready like the mob of Paris to preach anarchy from the smoking and sanguinary summits of their barricades, are now gathered into loyal, orderly, and exemplary churches of Christ, the union has taught Anglicans to regard their labors as a misfortune, to esteem their existence a social blot, and to exclude them from their pulpits, their altars, and their friendship. By this contempt and suspicion even patient men are roused to indignation, and men of sterner mold indulge in those bitter vituperations of the Establishment and its pastors, of which it is only an imperfect palliation to say, that they were cruelly provoked. The violence of both parties hinders the progress of the Gospel. If these be the fruits of faith in Christ it seems better to many not to believe. Since each party proscribes the other as an enemy, and the world knows not which to believe, why should it not treat them both as enemies to

¹ Acts ii. 47.

its peace ? Since they can not convince each other of the truth of their doctrines, how should they convince the rest of mankind ? As each declares the other to be wrong, the world may think both wrong. It can not understand their reasonings, but it can appreciate their passions ; their conclusions may be obscure, but their anathemas are very plain. The result is, that many believe nothing to be at the bottom of this strife between the Anglicans and their rivals but selfishness, cupidity, and pride. For this conclusion, and the consequent enmity to religion which grows up in the nation, the union and its adherents are mainly responsible. “ *Woe to the world because of offenses ! For it must needs be that offenses come ; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh !* ”

Out of these schisms grow political strifes. Since the Anglican, eager to preserve his privileges, is a Tory, and the dissenter, anxious to obtain his rights, is a Whig, both are embittered by the addition of political to theological debate. On either side the disciples of Christ are leagued with those who openly dishonor him, while they proscribe his friends in the opposite political party. The political heat and party spirit of Christians hide out from the world’s view their faith and zeal ; religion seems to have vanished from the churches, and the nation despises evangelical religion through the faults of its supporters.

Those who uphold this corrupt and paralyzing system, beneath which worldliness must luxuriate and spirituality must die, by which the churches are corrupted and the whole nation injured, are answerable for the consequences.

SECTION X.—*Effects of the Union upon the Government.*

It has been shown in the preceding pages that the union is detrimental to Anglican pastors and churches, to dissenters, and to the nation at large. During its continuance it is vain to hope that Christians will be united, that churches will be pure, or that religion will make much progress in society. I now add, that it is a constant source of embarrassment to the government. Anglican and dissenting

pastors, who ought to be raised above all party politics, "to watch for souls as those who must give account," become, almost necessarily, through the union, eager political partisans. The clergy have privileges to maintain, which are menaced by numerous and watchful antagonists; and the place where the battles for these privileges must be fought is Parliament. Their salaries, their honors, their influence as the established teachers of the nation, are all at stake; but if they can maintain at the helm of affairs a party which identifies its interest with theirs, they are safe. As so vital a matter is not to be neglected, they must labor resolutely to keep their party in power. Scarcely less important is it to secure the return of members known for devotion to their cause. There is many a Goliath armed against them in the House of Commons, and they must send as many Davids as they can to meet them in the field. Various bills, also, calculated either to strengthen or to diminish their influence, some recognizing the principle of an Establishment, others hostile to it, some discouraging their rivals, and others threatening their own ruin, demand their best attention. Each must canvass, on these points, the vote of his representative; each obtain signatures for the petitions to the legislature which each measure requires. Besides these temptations to political eagerness, Anglican pastors naturally desire to serve their patrons, sometimes out of gratitude for past favors, sometimes in hope of favors yet to come. To canvass zealously for a powerful dispenser of church preferment is the way to a comfortable parsonage and to a good income. Exactly similar temptations beset the pastors of free churches. To be placed on a legal equality with the established sect, to escape the imposition of church-rates, to see the national ecclesiastical property saved from its mischievous appropriation to a sect and employed usefully for all, to remove great hindrances to the purity of the Christian churches and to the triumph of the Gospel in the country, are objects for which they also think that they must carry their party to power, secure the return of representatives pledged to the separation of Church and State, and labor for the success or defeat of measures

which are favorable or hostile to their great principle. This political activity of the two bodies of pastors in opposite directions brings them into worldly associations, impairs their efficiency as Christian teachers, leads to irritating imputations on both sides, exasperates their enmity against each other, and increases the schism which rends the churches of Christ. Yet, mischievous as it is, they almost necessarily regard it as Christian zeal. Anglicans think that they must fight for a principle with which, in their judgment, the prosperity, maintenance, and extension of the church of Christ, are so inseparably blended. Non-conformists are persuaded that they must eject it from our constitution, as incompatible with the rights of Christ, with the fidelity of the churches, or the spiritual welfare of the nation. As long as the union lasts the clergy must and will be politicians in two hostile camps.

Their respective objects determine their political connections. Two great parties in this country have long contended with each other for the possession of power. The principle inscribed upon the banner of the Tories is, "Privilege against innovation." They appeal to the historical traditions of the country; they point with pride to its present prosperity and power; they warn the nation against the empiricism, which may endanger the glorious fabric of the constitution; they are for "leaving well alone." The spirit of the Whig creed, on the contrary, is "Preservation by progress." Against change for the sake of change they protest; but as they will not adopt a bad thing because it is new, so neither will they retain a bad thing because it is old. As a nation grows in intelligence and in morality, it ought to adapt its institutions to its circumstances; and fearlessly to destroy whatever is unjust and mischievous is the way to preserve what is right and useful. These being the opposite principles of the two parties, all the privileged classes are naturally linked with the Tories, who are for upholding privilege, and all the unprivileged classes are for the Whigs, who advocate progress. For these reasons the ministers of Christ, who ought to be united as brethren, knowing no political party, are marshaled in two hostile

armies: the Anglicans are with the Tories against the Whigs, the dissenters with the Whigs against the Tories.

To both political parties these clerical politics appear to me disastrous. As advocates of progress, the Whigs, when in power, arm against themselves the clergy who are the advocates of privilege. No moderation of views, no caution in their measures, no suavity of manner, no eminence of virtue, can save Whig statesmen from having the clergy for their foes. They are for progress against privilege; and that alone is cause enough to make every privileged class eager for their downfall. But 16,000 clergymen spread over the whole country, and animated with inextinguishable jealousy and dislike, are formidable opponents. It is true that their fundamental principle secures to the Whigs the adherence of the unprivileged classes; and, therefore, dissenters, Roman Catholics, and reformers of every grade, will aid them rather than their rivals. But the necessities of the government, so long as the union of the Church and State subsists, by compelling ministers to make concessions to their adversaries, excites the anger of their adherents. To avoid pushing their antagonists to extremities, the Whigs shrink from the application of their own principles, maintain abuses which are too strong to be attacked, and are compelled to justify their maintenance by insufficient reasons. The consequence has been, and will be again, that although the cabinet is formed of able and of honest men, they alienate their supporters, who can not, perhaps, appreciate the difficulties of their position. No amount of talent, no administrative skill, no brilliancy in debate, no amount of services to the country, can perpetuate their popularity. Too liberal for the aristocracy, and too conservative for the unprivileged mass, they are unable to conciliate their enemies or to retain their friends. Successive votes slip away from their majorities, their friends out-of-doors grow cold and sullen, and the reins of power drop from their hands.

Yet no better prospect awaits the Tories on their accession to office. Loud and long are the rejoicings of the clergy at that event, and the aristocracy will gallantly

support them ; but there are other parties leagued against them, which, despised hitherto, are annually becoming more formidable. As the Whigs become conservative, so the Tories become liberal in office. Although their dependence on the aristocratic classes secures their fidelity to their maxim of "privilege against innovation," yet, like the Whigs, they can not but make some concessions to their opponents. But these can never conciliate dissenters, Roman Catholics, and reformers. The instincts of the privileged and the unprivileged are essentially antagonistic. Cerberus will grow hungry again after his sop ; and still the array of four-fifths of the lower classes who are excluded from the elective franchise, the Roman Catholics, who claim civil and religious equality with the rest of their fellow-subjects, dissenters, who think that the welfare of the nation is bound up with the freedom of the churches, and the most enlightened portion of the middle classes, who see that progress is the only condition of national safety, all supporting the Whig opposition, defeat their measures and insult their incapacity. Meanwhile, their own friends, who can not endure their concessions to either dissenters, Roman Catholics, or Whigs, are alienated and embittered. It becomes evident that they have lost the confidence of the country, and in their turn they are hurled from their seats.

Both parties have good reason to wish the union at an end ; but of the two the Tories suffer from it the most. Political parties are already nearly equal, and, as the popular element in our constitution is continually growing, and with it the strength of the popular party in Parliament, the active opposition of dissenters to a Tory administration must be a source of increasing embarrassment. Already they have been much perplexed by the combination of the unprivileged classes against them, and the time does not seem far off when it will render them incapable of carrying on the government at all.

If it appears doubtful to any one that the dissolution of the union would lessen the political activity of the two classes of pastors, let him only consider the circumstances,

and the doubt must vanish. Since Anglican pastors are now political, because they have to contend in Parliament for the prerogatives, honors, and emoluments of their church; and since dissenters are now political, because they are unjustly depressed, and the progress of religion in the country is impeded by the existence of the union, both classes must cease to be political, when, the union being dissolved, they have nothing to fear from the legislature, and nothing to hope for. That great reform being effected, why should they any longer engage in the war of politics? When no political party can either serve or injure them, when they have no enactments to promote or frustrate, no champions to elect, and no enemies to humble, their political activity would be worse than ridiculous. Now religion seems to demand and to consecrate their entrance into political contention; but then it would seem to their churches and to the nation an obtrusive meddling, an undisguised worldliness, and it would not be endured. Then the better part of the pastors would have no taste for political bustle, and the rest would be forbidden to indulge it. Tories and Whigs would alike rejoice in their deliverance from a wavering friendship and a resolved enmity; and the pastors of churches, rescued from a powerful temptation, would leave party questions to those more qualified to discuss them, reserving to themselves nothing but the sacred right to uphold all good government, by inculcating in their ministry respect for the laws, affectionate loyalty to their sovereign, and patriotic zeal for the welfare of their country.

Against a measure so useful to all classes, it is often argued that the resumption of church property by the State would be spoliation. That property belongs, it is said, to the Church of England, and the sacrilegious hands which would rob her of it might with equal justice confiscate the properties of the landlords, or sell the manufactories of Lancashire and Yorkshire, for purposes of State. Big words, but with little in them. Who gave the church property to the clergy, and for what ends was it given? It was the legislature which justly took it from the Roman

priests, because their ministry was judged noxious to the country, and which gave it to the Protestant clergy for the good of the whole community. As justly might they take it from the Episcopal clergy, *existing interests being respected*, and give it to Presbyterian or Independent ministers if they judged it beneficial to the country. It was given by the nation to its pastors for its own use, and the nation must still be judge how far its present application answers that end. As it was justly taken from the Catholic trustees when their tenure of it was proved to be mischievous, so may it justly be taken from the Protestant trustees when their tenure is likewise proved to be mischievous. Church property exists by act of Parliament for the good of the nation, and Parliament must be the supreme judge whether it is for the good of the nation that it should cease to exist. Anglicans maintain that the interests of religion depend on its remaining in their hands; dissenters, with much more reason, contend that religion would flourish more if it were applied to other purposes. Both appeal to Parliament, and Parliament alone must judge. Who, in fact, will suffer if this property is resumed by the State? Not the people, for they will be better taught without it; not the patrons, for they ought to receive a compensation for the loss of their advowsons; not the pastors, for they ought to enjoy the income till their deaths; not their successors, for they do not exist. All classes would be benefited, and none would suffer, if church property, being resumed by the State, were employed for schools, village libraries, hospitals, or other purposes, any of which would serve the interests of all.

But if the measure be admitted to be necessary, some will plead for delay. "Not now, at least," they will say, "attempt the overthrow of the most venerable part of our majestic constitution. Not now, when every European government is tossed about by the prodigious heavings of the people, like a brig in the roused Pacific; when England is almost the only country whose institutions have manifested stability, and to which all the wise and the good throughout Europe look as the only breakwater which may stay the

flood of wild and lawless revolution which is bursting upon the world. Why at this moment let loose all the revolutionary cravings of the kingdom to disturb our tranquillity, if not to endanger our existence?" Vain fears! The safety of the constitution demands its immediate removal. The union disfigures our constitution, disturbs our social peace, revolts our sense of justice, is condemned by religion, and irritates millions against the social system under which they live. Rescue them from all desire of change, by granting their righteous claims. Make the millions of dissenters conservatives, by giving them these rights to preserve. Remove the union, and our social fabric will stand. Maintain it, and take care that it does not pull down the rest. Precisely because the nations are now restless, and are subjecting all institutions to a bold and irreverent criticism, should all that will not endure such criticism be abandoned. What can more exasperate the discontented than to see that the most just, rational, and religious complaints fare as ill with our legislature as those which are ignorant or unprincipled? What can so quicken the love of extensive change in the people as to let them see that their rulers will not sacrifice even an abuse? *Thoughtful, just, and religious progress is the only condition of our safety.* If we wish to see our institutions secure against revolution, we must adapt them to the intelligence and the conscience of the nation. No cherished injustice, no detected absurdity, must remain to enfeeble them. And if the union is ever to be dissolved, which is most for the welfare of the country, that it should be dissolved by just and prudent men, with regard to existing rights, and with foresight of the inconvenience which so great a change must ever occasion in a nation; or with impetuosity, and perhaps injustice, by those who would exult in it as a triumph over religion itself? This part of the alternative is not so impossible as some may think. A separation of the Church from the State is the distinct tendency of the foremost nations of Europe, which must, sooner or later, govern the course of the rest. In the year 1795 the Convention of the French republic introduced

into its constitution the following article: "No one shall be hindered from exercising, in conformity with the laws, the religion (*culte*) which he has chosen. No one shall be forced to contribute to the maintenance of any religion. The republic salaries none."¹ If a similar article is not inserted in the French constitution of 1848, this is attributable more to a temporary fear of increasing the difficulties of the republic than to any value for the union itself. M. de La Mennais has already proposed that the following terms should be inserted in the constitution: "Each person professes his religion with equal liberty. All religions are independent of the State. It salaries none—but protects them all." Other influential public men have professed themselves in favor of separation. The payment of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, of those who blaspheme the Redeemer as well as of those who adore him, must be repugnant to thoughtful and conscientious men, because seen to be political, not religious; and the time can not be far off when it will be abandoned. In Germany this step is already taken. The National Assembly at Frankfort has decreed as follows:—

"Every religious communion regulates and administers its affairs for itself.

"No religious communion may be favored by the State to the exclusion of others.

"There will henceforth be no State Church.

"No one may be constrained to concur in the ceremonies and religious acts of any religion."²

¹ "Nul ne peut-être empêché d'exercer, en se conformant aux lois, le culte qu'il a choisi. Nul ne peut-être forcé de contribuer aux dépenses d'aucun culte. La République n'en salarie aucun."
—ART. 354.

² I have only seen this fact reported in the *Semeur*, where it is reported in the following terms:—

"Toute communion religieuse règle et administre elle-même ses affaires.

"Aucune communion religieuse ne doit être favorisée par l'Etat à l'exclusion des autres.

"Il n'y aura plus dorénavant d'Eglise de l'Etat.

"Nul ne peut-être contraint de concourir aux cérémonies et aux actes religieux d'un culte."—*Semeur*, Oct. 4, 1848.

What the legislators of Paris did in 1795, and those of Frankfort have done in 1848, our reformers would be likely to do if ever they assume the reins of government. For they would depend exclusively on the parties in the State who are enemies to privilege ; on the working classes, the great majority of whom are without the elective franchise ; upon Roman Catholics, who detest the Establishment ; and upon radical reformers like themselves ; all these would demand the dissolution of the union ; and when they are strong enough to carry the reformers to power, will be strong enough to carry that measure also. It is better to terminate the union prudently and quietly than to leave it to the violence of such an epoch.

Lastly, a crisis of another kind demands the same measure. In Ireland the Roman Catholics exclaim loudly against the partiality which applies large national resources to maintain the pastors of a small and rich minority, while the pastors of a poor majority are overlooked. Our statesmen feel that this can not go on. But the existence of the English Establishment hinders any satisfactory settlement of the question. To endow the priests is against the convictions of the majority of this kingdom, as it is contrary to religious principle. Protestants ought not to vote public money for the promulgation of what they believe to be fatal errors. But no principle forbids the disestablishment of the Protestant churches, which by placing Catholics on an equality with Protestants would content them. What, then, hinders this settlement of the question ? It is chiefly the fear that if the Irish churches were severed from the State, the English churches must soon undergo the same great change. This compels each successive ministry to uphold the Irish Establishment. But Roman Catholic millions do not mean to acquiesce in their social inferiority, because their claims are inconvenient to a party in power ; nor do they mean to have their rights withheld because her majesty's ministers wish to please the clergy. It is certain, therefore, that their claim of equality must become more urgent as they grow in numbers and in power ; and if the government will not disestablish the Protestant

church, they must raise a co-ordinate Roman Catholic Establishment. They can not avoid it : and the real authors of this unprincipled conclusion will be those Protestants who resisted the religious and high-principled arrangement, by which the maintenance of divine worship in the Establishments both of England and of Ireland would have been left to the faith and zeal of their members.

SECTION XI.—*The Influence of the Union upon the other Religious Establishments of Europe and of the World.*

The long prevalence of the pagan and papal principle—the union of Church and State—in this kingdom, has rendered powerful support to the more corrupt establishments in Catholic and Greek countries. If in those countries Protestantism has not been tolerated, if evangelists have been deported to the frontiers, if peaceable believers could not meet for worship, and Bibles have been torn up or burned, they had plausible excuse for these enormities, “Even England,” they might say, “which calls itself enlightened, religious, and free, has asserted the right of the State to support the truth. We claim the same right, only we are more consistent than the government of England, for if it be a duty to support the truth, it must be no less incumbent on the State to repress error. We only fulfill the double duty, and while we uphold Catholic truth, we forbid the audacious rivalry of heretics and schismatics.” In this case the heretics and schismatics are Anglicans.

But when, as a tribute to all-enduring and all-conquering truth, the union is dissolved, when there is enough of wisdom, justice, and faith in this country to compel our statesmen to leave the support of the Gospel to the faith and love of Christ’s disciples, when Anglicans are no longer corrupted by State patronage, and free churches are no longer checked by State discouragements, when religion is no longer desecrated by being made a supplement to the police, when unbelievers can no longer say that the belief

of the Gospel rests upon statutes and State pensions, when churches and pastors having regained their rights, are free to obey the laws of Christ in all things, when, with this recovered freedom, the churches regain their long-lost energy, when schisms are mitigated, and many being converted, religion is gaining ground in the country, then papal and Greek Establishments must fall. Germany has already set us the example of this wisdom and justice. There is no union of the Church and the State in Germany now. Austria and Bohemia being now set free, the Bible and other evangelical writings may be freely circulated; evangelists may preach the Gospel, congregations may be gathered, churches may be organized, they may choose their pastors, they may establish their schools. And throughout the rest of Germany, conscience being disenthralled, the disciples of Christ may set themselves to reform the churches, and seek once more their pristine force and fervor.

The three nations of Europe which are taking the lead in the progress of civilization, and setting the example to all the rest, are England, France, and Germany. When Germany and England have both separated the secular from the spiritual, and find their governments and their Churches in all respects gainers by the change, France, which is remodeling its institutions, which has already once abolished the union, and which is held to it now by a mere gossamer thread, will confirm, by our experience, its previous just instincts, and will set its churches free. The advantage to France and to Europe will be incalculable. Once set free from their worldly consistories, nine out of ten of which are hostile to the Gospel, the reformed churches will choose not infidel pastors but evangelical. Already they have worthy successors to Claude and Daillé, to Du Moulin and Drélincourt, to Morus and Mestrezat, to Coligny and Duplessis Mornay. And when their eminent preachers, unfettered, shall preach the Gospel throughout France, and their devoted laymen, as Lutteroth, Pressensé, and Gasparin, shall lead them in all their evangelical undertakings, they will, with God's blessing, attain a holy energy beyond even that of the churches of the desert.

But for poor, old, rickety, blind, withered, and pampered priestcraft, how will that fare? When the State withdraws from its paralytic and trembling limbs the couch on which it has been reclining, with royalty for its nurse, nothing will remain for it but the grave.

Now, imagine the three most enlightened and powerful nations of Europe, advancing in religion, in intelligence, and in wealth, because each is free from its incubus of a State-union with the Church. Can the secondary nations long wear their ecclesiastical chains? Beyond all question many years will not pass, after the emancipation of the churches of England, France, and Germany, before all the churches of Europe will be free. Hitherto the suicidal support which papal governments have afforded to an exclusive priesthood in the southern and western countries of Europe, has effectually excluded the Gospel from their populations. But when those tyrannical unions are destroyed, the banks of the Douro, the Guadalquiver, and the Tagus, will resound with the voice of evangelists and the hymns of evangelical churches, no less than those of the Po and of the Tiber. No priestly combination then will be able to hinder the peasants of Catalonia or of Lombardy from hearing the Gospel, when their selfish despotism is no longer sustained by the policeman and the jail.

A new era is dawning, amidst tempest, upon Europe—an era of constitutional governments and free institutions—an era of schools and libraries, of unfettered discussion and unrestricted liberty of conscience—an era of union among Christians, and of their separation from the world—an era of evangelical energy and of renovated fervor. But further, when from the heart of Europe to its southern and western extremities, numbers emancipated from priestcraft, are rejoicing in the ennobling yoke of Christ, and liberty of conscience has revived the piety of all the nations, will the millions of Russia, down-trodden and lying in the mire of superstition with the feet of the czar and of his priests upon their necks remain hopelessly prostrate? Last though the Russians may be to burst the iron chain which the strongest of modern despotisms has riveted upon their con-

sciences, the autocrat can not so exclude them from the brotherhood of nations as to hinder them forever from claiming the right to follow Christ according to their own consciences. The rights of conscience, more precious than all other rights, can not long be denied in St. Petersburg when they are recognized in London and Paris, in Berlin and Vienna, in Madrid and Rome.

In the separation of the churches from the State all the world is essentially interested. For it the strongest thinkers of Europe and the most devoted Christians have contended. The purest churches of Europe have long illustrated its working; it has been put to the test by a great nation across the Atlantic with extraordinary success; the events of Europe are happily hastening it on; and may England be among the earliest of the European nations to fulfill the duty and to reap the advantages!

PART III.

ON THE MEANS OF PROMOTING A REVIVAL OF RELIGION IN THE COUNTRY.

UNDER the influence of the union the Anglican Churches have sunk into a low religious state. In the great majority of parishes, as we have too much reason to fear, the Gospel is not preached, and the people are indifferent to religion. In cities, too, there is a vast and growing population to whom there is no instruction given. Few boys, as far as my knowledge goes, in the great schools for the rich, or in those for the poor, appear to love and serve God. At the universities, the number of pious young men is almost confined to those who are going to take orders, and even among these many make no profession of religion. Few professional men do much to promote the cause of Christ. Few peers or members of Parliament avow evangelical opinions. Not one thousandth part of the income of the kingdom is given to promote the cause of Christ among the heathen, while millions are spent in drunkenness and vice. The circulation of decent writings of all sorts is said to be less than that of publications which are infidel or licentious: "11,702,000 copies of absolutely vicious and sabbath-breaking newspapers are annually circulated in these realms. . . . Of works, infidel and polluting, there are circulated a yearly average of 10,400,000." "If we sum up the entire yearly circulation of pernicious literature it will stand thus;—

Ten stamped papers	11,702,000
Six unstamped papers	6,240,000
About sixty miscellaneous papers	10,400,000
Worst class.....	520,000

Total 28,862,000

Putting together the annual issues of Bibles, Testaments, religious tracts, newspapers, and periodicals of every kind, we find a total of 24,418,620, leaving a balance of 4,443,380, in favor of pernicious and corrupting literature.¹

Nearly the whole of the working classes in London, and great numbers of the middle and upper classes too, have renounced public worship. The Lord's day is profaned by a large amount of traveling, of business, and of pleasure. Schisms enfeeble the efforts of Christians; and religion is making little progress in society.

There is very little reason to hope for any material improvement while the union continues. The Establishment, in allowing the State to govern it in spiritual things without authority from Christ so to do, is like a wife who has given to a stranger the rights of her husband; and the adulterous alliance can not have his blessing. Through the control of the State, the Establishment is necessarily and permanently corrupted by worldly prelates and worldly patrons, who, like an August snow-storm upon a garden in Labrador, must speedily destroy any partial revival which may have lasted for a few years. Probably three-fourths, at least, of the parish churches of England are without the Gospel; and in the Establishment, the influence of a worldly minister to corrupt and to deceive his church is unchecked by any opposite power. The parishes can not generally rise much above the moral level of their pastors; and when these are worldly and irreligious, worldliness and irreligion are sure to prevail among the members of their congregations. A revival of religion, if it ever take place, must be greatly accomplished by the doctrine of the Gospel; (John, xvii. 17; Eph. vi. 17; James, i. 18) but

¹ Power of the Press, quoted in Mr. James's "Church in Earnest," pp. 94-96.

this can never be extensively employed in the Anglican State Churches; because, 1st. The great majority of Anglican pastors are unevangelical, and exclude the Gospel from their pulpits; 2dly. The church doctrine of baptismal regeneration paralyzes the ministry even of good and earnest men. For since justification accompanies regeneration, baptismal regeneration is baptismal justification; infants, therefore, are justified as well as regenerated in baptism; and since nearly the whole nation is baptized in infancy, nearly the whole nation is therefore justified in infancy by baptism. Thenceforth, therefore, they are no more dead in sin, or heirs of wrath, but "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;" the threatenings of the Gospel are addressed to them in vain, there is nothing left to rouse them from their insensibility. Evangelical Anglicans might indeed, with their brethren of the free churches, preach the Gospel to every creature in the land, but the union excludes the former from nine thousand out of twelve thousand pulpits; and has created, throughout the country, a powerful prejudice against the latter.

It is contrary to the word of God, and to all experience, that with all these sins unrepented and unremoved, there should be any general revival of religion through the effusion of the Spirit of God. Rather, if we repent not, especially after light has been thrown upon these evils, must we expect a gradual withdrawal of the Spirit from the churches, by whose adherence to sin he is grieved.

SECTION I.—*What may be done by the Free Churches to promote their own Spiritual Improvement.*

Although no general revival of religion in the Anglican Churches can be expected till the auspicious day which shall free them from the ecclesiastical control of the State, Christians need not wait for that, or for any other public act, to seek a revival. The apostles did not wait for a reformation of the Jewish Church, or of the Roman empire, before they began to seek the establishment of the kingdom of Christ in Judea and throughout the world. Individu-

ality is the Spirit of Christ's religion, as blind conformity is the spirit of paganism and of Romanism. The churches of Christ are societies of believers, who think, will, and act for themselves, in obedience to Christ ; as pagan and Catholic communities are human herds, who are packed together by church laws and by State laws, as the potentate and the priest may determine.

Each individual, therefore, who sees that the State pay is, like Achan's gold, an accursed thing, which troubles the camp of Israel, ought to cease to participate in it, and seek the revival of the cause of Christ among the free churches. Anglican Churches and pastors who attain to this knowledge, should encourage each other to abandon a corrupt system. The church should offer a maintenance to its pastor ; the pastor should adhere to his church ; and both should come out from an unblest alliance with the world in sacred things. In city congregations, the transition would be effected without much difficulty.

Free churches have access at once to various methods by which they may seek their spiritual improvement.

Among the prominent means of revival provided by Christ, are the pastors of churches. Each of these can do much to revive the piety of his church.

He can first renew his entire dedication of himself to God, and accepting salvation with all the inestimable blessings accompanying it as the free gift of God to him, a ruined sinner, can heartily give himself up, in body and soul, to the service of the Redeemer. He can read and meditate on the lives of eminent ministers of Christ, as Paul, Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin, Bradford, Wesley, Whitefield, Fletcher, Brainerd, Martyn, Thomas Scott, John Venn, Oberlin, Neff, Payson ; and determine, by the help of God, to resemble them. He can determine to set himself free from wordly care, by bringing his expenditure completely within his income, whatever that may be. The example of Paul is before him. When that admirable man preached at Thessalonica, he would take no remuneration from the church in that city, because they were poor ; upon his arrival at Corinth, he maintained himself there

by tent-making, and received no money from the church, because, in their temper of mind, he saw that it would lessen the success of his ministry. And again he showed the same humility, independence, and zeal at Ephesus.¹ In like manner, each pastor, renouncing, for the sake of Christ, those advantages which his talents and education might secure him in a secular employment, may, by resolute economy and simplicity of living, "owe no man any thing," "render to all their dues," avoid "entangling himself with the affairs of this life," and give himself wholly to his ministry.²

He may further become, through the help of God, an example of every Christian grace to his people; a pattern of faith and love, of zeal and courage, of humility and self-denial, of charity, patience, and forgiveness, of spirituality, and of social virtue. The life speaks more than the pulpit. Without setting a high example the pastor can do nothing; but example is seldom lost.³

So prepared, he may preach the Gospel to his people "with power, and with the Holy Ghost, and with much assurance," commending the truth to their consciences and hearts. He can throw similar sincerity and earnestness into his superintendence of all his social meetings; the meetings of the church, of the Bible classes, of Sunday-school teachers, of visitors of the poor, of children, of servants. Prayer-meetings, missionary meetings, and all other meetings for social intercourse, may feel the hallowed influence.

To these may be added personal visitation of all the families composing the church, in which he may stir them up to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, to fulfill in a Christian manner each relative duty. Thus may he "feed the flock of God."⁴

¹ 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 7-9; Acts xviii. 1-3; 1 Cor. ix. 11-15; Acts xx. 33-35.

² Rom. xiii. 7, 8; 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4; Acts vi. 2-4; 1 Tim. iv. 13, 15.

³ 1 Tim. iii. 1-7; Tit. i. 7, 8; Acts xx. 28; 1 Tim. iv. 16.

⁴ 1 Thess. i. 5; Acts xx. 20, 28, 31; 1 Thess. ii. 11; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.

In so doing, pastors are usually blessed to those whom they instruct. Christ has appointed them for this end : *"He has given pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of his saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."* Nor when they do their duty will he let their labor be in vain. Most encouraging are the promises : *"Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine ; continue in them ; for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee . . . For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater : so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth ; it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."*¹

Let ministers think what motives they have to animate them. Blessings beyond all value are attained by each believer, and a curse eternal as their existence is about to ruin the unconverted. If they are good ministers of Jesus Christ, work hard, set high examples, bear trial patiently, love much, and pray fervently ; many will be saved by them from hell ; many, now useless, will become blessings to the church and to the world ; many, after loving and honoring them now, will be their joy and their crown in heaven ; and many who now dishonor Christ will live to love and glorify him.

On the other hand, if religion decays in any church, if parents degenerate from their spirituality and zeal, if their children grow up to be ungodly, if the church is indolent, lethargic, and fruitless, if the neighborhood is unblessed, because the pastor is selfish and idle, soft and worldly, because he only half believes the truths which he preaches, sets no high example, and neglects prayer, he will have no pleasant retrospect on his death-bed. For he has chosen his place and office. No one forced him to be an officer in Christ's army and a shepherd to Christ's flock. If the soldiers are defeated and disheartened, because he is a

¹ Eph. iv. 11, 12 ; 1 Tim. iv. 16 ; Isa. lv. 10, 11.

cowardly and faithless officer, if the sheep wander to their hurt, because he is an idle and heartless shepherd, the guilt of all this lies on him. Had he not placed himself at the head of that church, another, perhaps would have been there, who would have blessed and edified them. But now, if he does not build up the believers, then who will? If he does not convert and save the careless, who else will save them? "*Son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me. When I say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thy hand.*"¹

Members of churches may materially aid their pastors in seeking an extensive revival of religion. Each is bound to be a decided and devoted Christian;² and each has means at command by which he may become so.³ If a member of a church becomes himself a devoted man, trains up his children in the fear of God, rules his household in a Christian manner, employs his wealth in doing good, teaches the young, visits the poor, animates his fellow-Christians, and carries his religion into all the business of life, he may occasion an increase of piety in the whole church with which he is associated.⁴

Much more may a few earnest persons who meet often for reading the Scriptures, consultation, and prayer, assist their pastor to promote a revival of religion in the whole church, by the spirit which they may infuse into the church-meetings, and communicate to their fellow-members as Sunday-school teachers, visitors of the poor, and members of Bible classes.

¹ Ezek. xxxiii. 7, 8.

² Matt. vi. 33; Rom. vi. 13; xii. 1; 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20; Eph. v. 18; 2 Pet. iii. 18; Matt. v. 48.

³ Psalm i. 1-3; John xvii. 17; 1 Thess. ii. 13; Col. iii. 16; Eph. vi. 17; 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2; 2 Cor. iii. 18; Matt. vi. 6; vii. 7-11; xxi. 22; John xiv. 13, 14; Phil. iv. 6, 7.

⁴ Eph. vi. 4, 9; Col. iii. 21; iv. 1; Matt. vi. 19, 21; 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18.

How effectually, then, may a united church, aware that it has become negligent and lukewarm, promote its own revival ! Let its members set themselves heartily to obey the following precepts of Christ by his apostles, and they can not fail to obtain an abundant blessing :—

1. Churches to repent.—“ *I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy FIRST LOVE. Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works. . . . Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, which are ready to die ; for I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard ; and hold fast, and repent. As many as I love I rebuke and chasten : be zealous therefore, and repent.*”

2. Churches to obey their Pastors, speaking to them in the Name of Christ.—“ *We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you ; and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake. . . . Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God ; whose faith follow. . . . Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves : for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account. . . . Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder.*”

3. Churches to meet for Mutual Exhortation.—“ *Not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is ; but exhorting one another ; and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.*”

4. Duties of Church Members to each other, at their Meetings and elsewhere.—“ *A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another : as I have loved you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. . . . Be kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love, in honor preferring one another. . . . As touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you ; for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another. But we beseech you, brethren, that ye increase more and more. . . . We know that we have passed from death unto life,*

because we love the brethren. . . . But whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? . . . My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth. . . . Endeavoring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. . . . Be of one mind, and live in peace. . . . For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the proportion of faith. . . . Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory, but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. . . . All of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility: for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. . . . Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations. . . . Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us to the glory of God. . . . Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice; and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you. . . . Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep. . . . Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. . . . Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant. . . . Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many. . . . By love serve one another. . . . Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. . . . Wherefore comfort yourselves together, and edify one another. . . . Warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak. . . . Exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day. . . . Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another."

5. Churches to exercise Discipline.—*"Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his*

fault between thee and him alone : if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church : but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen man and a publican. . . . Now I have written to you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one no not to eat. Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person. . . . Mark them which cause divisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned ; and avoid them. . . . A man that is a heretic (factious) after the first and second admonition reject. . . . We command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourself from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. . . . And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed."

6. Churches to restore Backsliders.—*"If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a one in the spirit of meekness."*

7. Churches to labor for Christ.—*"Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord. . . . Let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ, that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs that ye stand fast, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel. . . . It was needful for me to exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints."*

8. Church Members to seek Spiritual Progress.—*"Be ye perfect as your Father which is in heaven is perfect. . . . Be ye filled with the Spirit. . . . Grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."*

9. Churches to abound in united Prayer.—“*Pray without ceasing. . . . Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints. . . . If two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. . . . Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. If ye being evil know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?*”¹

Humiliation and confession of sin in public and in private, frequent church-meetings for consultation and prayer, the exercise of a spirit of kindness, forbearance, and forgiveness toward each other, humble and courteous manners in all to all, at their church-meetings to avoid disputation, to serve each other by multiplied friendly acts, to exhort each other to diligence in duty, to repress, censure, or excommunicate offenders, and to persevere in united prayer for the Holy Spirit, would speedily restore a church which has lost its zeal and love.

Besides these means, any church and pastor anxious to obtain spiritual improvement may invite the visits of the most earnest ministers of Christ in the country. When the first churches of Christ were visited by Paul, Barnabas, and Silas, they were thereby confirmed in piety.² When the apostle Paul could not visit any churches himself, he sent experienced and zealous evangelists, the companions

¹ Rev. ii. 4, 5; iii. 2, 3, 19; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Heb. xiii. 7, 17; 1 Pet. v. 5; Heb. x. 25; John xiii. 34, 35; Rom. xii. 10; 1 Thess. iv. 9, 10; 1 John iii. 14; Eph. iv. 3; 2 Cor. xiii. 11; 1 Cor. i. 18; Rom. xii. 3; Phil. ii. 3; 1 Pet. v. 5; Rom. xiv. 1; xv. 7; Eph. iv. 31, 32; Rom. xii. 15, 16; 1 Pet. iii. 8; 1 John iii. 18; 1 Thess. iv. 18; Matt. xx. 27; Gal. v. 13; Phil. ii. 4; 1 Thess. v. 11, 14; Heb. iii. 13; James v. 16; Matt. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 11; Rom. xvi. 17; Tit. iii. 10; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14; 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7; Gal. vi. 1; 1 Cor. xv. 58; Phil. i. 6, 7, 27; Jude 3; Matt. v. 48; 2 Pet. iii. 18; 1 Thess. v. 17; Eph. vi. 18; Matt. xviii. 19, 20; Luke xi. 9, 13.

² Acts xiv. 21–23; xv. 40–41.

of his labors, and animated with his own spirit, to do them good. The church of Philippi was visited by Timothy A.D. 56 ; by Epaphras, A.D. 62 ; and then again by Timothy, A.D. 62.¹ The church of Thessalonica was visited by Timothy, A.D. 51, and A.D. 56.² The church of Corinth was visited by Timothy, A.D. 57 ; by Apollos, A.D. 57 ; and by Titus, A.D. 58.³ And the church of Ephesus was visited by Timothy, A.D. 57, and twice by Tychicus, A.D. 61 and A.D. 65.⁴ These earnest evangelists, Timothy, Titus, Tychicus, Epaphras, and others like them, visiting the apostolic churches from time to time, would correct, reform, instruct, and animate them, revive a dying church like Sardis, and restore to zeal a lukewarm church like that at Laodicea. If, in a similar manner, an experienced and earnest minister should come from an earnest and active church to any church, by invitation of the pastor and people, to preach to them in their place of worship, address their church-meeting, exhort their children, Sunday school-teachers, and visitors of the poor, and hold with them meetings for united prayer, that church might be revived and strengthened.

Still larger effects might follow if a number of churches would follow the precedents set us by divine appointment in the history of the Jews. Great revivals of religion followed their sacred festivals, when they solemnly spent a whole week together in the exercises of religion.⁵ Not less earnest and persevering was the Pentecostal church at Jerusalem, which won from God still larger blessings.⁶ Why should not many of the free churches of England follow these examples ? Let each church hold some preliminary meetings for conversation and prayer ; let its members so arrange their business as to be able to devote the beginning and the end of each day to the exercises of religion ; and then inviting three or four earnest ministers to

¹ Acts xix. 22 ; Phil. ii. 25, 19.

² 1 Thess. iii. 2 ; Acts xix. 22.

³ 1 Cor. iv. 17 ; xvi. 12 ; 2 Cor. vii. 6 ; viii. 6.

⁴ 1 Tim. i. 3 ; Eph. vi. 21 ; 2 Tim. iv. 12.

⁵ 1 Kings viii. 65 ; 2 Kings xxiii. 21 ; 2 Chron. xxxv. 1-19 ; xxx. 21-27.

⁶ Acts ii. 42, 46, 47.

spend with them such a sacred week as Solomon kept at the dedication of the temple, and Josiah at the celebration of the Passover, they might obtain a spiritual improvement never to be again lost.

Nothing is so likely to increase the piety of the churches as to obtain a large number of able and devoted ministers ; and as God alone can fit men for the office, or incline their hearts to undertake it, our Lord has said to us, "*Pray ye the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth laborers into his harvest.*" Yet it is ever his will that we should use all the means in our power to attain each important end ; and it is worthy the attention of the thoughtful friends of religion, how the ablest and most pious young men may be brought into the ministry, and how their theological education may be conducted in the manner the most effective to prepare them for an energetic and fervent ministry.

Much spiritual improvement may be obtained by the churches generally if meetings of the Evangelical Alliance are held throughout the country with especial reference to the revival of religion. At their general meetings why should not the most holy, experienced, and successful ministers of Christ in the country be charged with the duty of addressing the assembled brethren on the subject ? And why should they not, after long thought and prayer, come forth in the spirit with which Paul addressed his parting counsels to the pastors of Ephesus, to lay it upon the consciences of us all that we grow in grace, and serve the church of Christ and the world with more devoted assiduity ?

All this may clearly be done by the churches as they now are, if they will do it. A revival of religion is not withheld by God, but unsought by ourselves. Let the churches ask, and they will have.

But if the pastors and churches of England have so little faith that they will not effectually seek a large effusion of grace by vigorous and sustained exertions, the case is not hopeless. Think what God has done in the church by individuals. How much did John alone prepare the way of the Lord Jesus Christ ! How few of the first disciples

of our Lord laid the foundations of the universal church ! How great a work was wrought in Asia and Europe by the single labors of Paul ! How small the number of the reformers who tore from the grasp of the raging Church of Rome one-third of its victims ! How much this country owes to Whitefield and Wesley ! If many are not prepared to seek a great spiritual improvement of the churches, let a few then seek it.

Each earnest believer in Christ who reads this book may determine to give himself entirely up to the service of God and of his fellow-creatures, *in his present place and calling*, so as to seek to revive the religion of his fellow-Christians by all means in his power. Especially let each of us, who are ministers of Christ do this.

And if only a few earnest and thoughtful men, after renewing the dedication of themselves to God, combine to promote an extensive revival of religion in this country, no one can say how much they may effect. Let them read, think, and converse upon the subject ; let them use all the means which the providence of God may place within their reach ; above all, let them earnestly commit the matter to him to whom the glory of his Son and the salvation of his perishing creatures are objects far dearer than they are to the most holy and most loving of his people upon earth, and he will not reject their prayers.

SECTION II.—*What may be done for the Extension of Religion throughout the Country.*

God has spoken in his word with merciful distinctness of the condition of those who do not trust in Christ alone for their salvation, through the converting and sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit, and he has left no room to doubt his decision at the last day respecting their state. Let the reader weigh carefully those passages of the word of God¹ which expressly declare, that they are under the

¹ John iii. 16, 36 ; Mark xvi. 16 ; Gal. iii. 10 ; 1 Cor. xvi. 22 ; Heb. ii. 1-4 ; x. 28, 29 ; 2 Pet. ii. 4-9 ; Rom. ii. 6-9 ; 2 Thess. i. 7-9 ; Matt. iii. 12.

righteous curse of God, and can expect nothing but destruction after death. Such being the condition and prospects of all unbelievers, a great moral change must be wrought in them by the Spirit of God, through their efforts, prayers, and meditation on the word of God, or they can not escape their merited and certain doom.¹ To accomplish this renovation of their fallen nature, Christ has appointed ministers to preach the Gospel to them.² There are, perhaps, 9000 preachers of the Gospel in England; 3000 in the Establishment and 6000 in other denominations. How crippled, feeble, slothful, timid, and selfish we must be! What cowardly soldiers, what idle servants, what heartless friends to the Lord Jesus Christ, if we do not somehow make the sixteen millions of our countrymen to hear distinctly that there is salvation by grace through faith to every one that believeth in Jesus!

As his ministers we may abandon all learned trifling, all idle ornament, and simply, earnestly, affectionately, and solemnly entreat men to seek the salvation of their souls.³ We may with faith and prayer follow up the impressions made in public by pastoral visits, seeking affectionately to turn each individual of the family—parents, children, servants—to a life of godliness. We may gather rich and poor, heads of families, young men, young women, children, servants, into separate associations for reading the Scriptures and prayer; to all which meetings we may bring earnest desires for their conversion and salvation, with humble dependence on the Holy Spirit through Christ.

Were we half alive to the greatness of our work, to the value of salvation, to the danger of the unconverted, and to our solemn responsibility, we should endeavor to convert the children in our schools, the poor in their cottages, the rich in their drawing-rooms, and strangers wherever we might meet them.

¹ John iii. 3; Matt. xviii. 3; Acts iii. 19; James v. 20; John i. 12, 13; Gal. iii. 26; 1 Pet. i. 23; James i. 18; Rom. viii. 14.

² Matt. xxviii. 18–20; Acts xxvi. 17, 18; 1 Tim. iv. 16; Eph. iv. 11; Mark xvi. 20; 1 Pet. i. 12.

³ 1 Thess. i. 5; 1 Cor. v. 11; 2 Cor. v. 20.

We should be more solicitous respecting our example than even respecting our preaching : and should wish that all our friendships, domestic arrangements, and personal habits, might recommend religion to the unconverted.

Nor should we then labor alone. Each would be anxious to see the wisdom, piety, and experience of other ministers made useful to his people. Ministers of the same neighborhood would then meet often and earnestly to consider how they might unitedly carry on the work of God in their neighborhood.

What might not nine thousand evangelical ministers do for their country if they were united, affectionate, self-denying, and strong in faith !

The efforts of ministers may be rendered more than doubly effective, if they are sustained by the similar efforts of the pious members of their churches. Each saved sinner should seek to save his neighbor ; each redeemed disciple should make known his Redeemer ; each child of God should glorify his heavenly Father. When the Jewish sanhedrim and their adherents burst like a company of wolves upon the flock of Christ at Jerusalem, and his sheep were scattered in all directions, they did not retire from the scene of slaughter to bury their faith in silence. Even in retreat they were meditating victory ; and "*they that were scattered abroad went every where preaching the word.*"¹ Divine power attended their testimony ; "*The hand of the Lord was with them ; and a great number believed and turned to the Lord.*"² So let all do who at this day are true disciples of Christ. By conversation with irreligious persons, by giving and lending Christian books, by drawing them to hear earnest preaching, by a consistent example, and by much prayer, let them seek to save as many as possible among their unconverted relations, friends, and neighbors. If thus men and women in every rank and situation were to strive to do good, if Christian members of the government, Christian noblemen, and members of Parliament, Christian landowners, Christian bankers and merchants, Christian lawyers

¹ Acts viii. 1-4.

² Acts xi. 19-22.

of every department, Christian shop-keepers and manufacturers, Christian clerks, artisans, and laborers, would, in loyalty to Christ, and in charity to their fellow-men, strive to convert them, no one can fully estimate the results which would follow.

But the combined action of revived churches may be far more effective to convert men to God than the efforts of either ministers or members individually can be. The piety of the church of Christ is ordained by God to do great things yet. Let us listen to his word.

*"God be merciful to us and bless us, and cause his face to shine upon us. That thy way may be known upon earth, thy salvation (יְשׁוּעָתְךָ) among all nations. The peoples shall praise thee, O God; all the peoples shall praise thee.¹ . . . Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee. And the gentiles shall come to thy light; and kings to the brightness of thy rising.² . . . Ye are the salt of the earth. Ye are the light of the world. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.³ . . . Neither pray I for these alone, but for them, also, who shall believe on me through their word; that they may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they, also, may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."⁴ These passages were illustrated by the effects of the grace of God upon the first church of Christ ever formed. Three thousand Jews having been converted to God upon the day of Pentecost, we read of them as follows: *"They continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers. And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted**

¹ יְרוּרוּךְ עַמִּים אֱלֹהִים יְרוּרוּךְ עַמִּים כָּלֵם, Ps. lxvii. 1-3.

² Isaiah lx. 1-3.

³ Matt. v. 13, 14, 16.

⁴ John xvii. 20, 21.

*them to all men, as every man had need. And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily τοὺς σωζομένους, those that were saved."*¹

Their confession of Christ in the expectation of severe trial, their diligence in seeking Christian knowledge, their united prayer, their brotherly love, their joy and thankfulness, so acted upon men's consciences and hearts, that some souls were saved *daily* through the blessing of God upon their piety. Similar grace in any church would produce similar results. Other primitive churches followed their example.² Were all the churches of Christ now to be thus adorned with moral glory, as they might be, its influence on the minds of men would, with the grace of God, which is ever ready to bless his obedient people, transform the world.

But the members of Christ's churches are called not only to let their example shine, but as Christ's soldiers and servants to strive and labor directly to subdue the world to him.³

Each church may obviously do much to save souls. They may meet to consider what special facilities for doing good the neighborhood may afford, and unitedly to pray for the progress of the Gospel throughout it. Some may become visitors of the poor, and secure a circulation of Christian tracts, and a supply of the Scriptures for the district. Some may become Sunday-school teachers and visitors of day-schools for the poor. Some may superintend libraries for the working classes. Some may become evangelists to all the neighboring villages, while the whole church may bear the expenses attending their labors, and encourage them by their prayers.

Christians of various denominations may be usefully associated for objects common to them all. Why do not greater numbers zealously support the British and Foreign

¹ Acts ii. 42-47.

² Acts ix. 31; Rom. i. 8; 2 Cor. iii. 2; Phil. ii. 15, 16; 1 Thess. i. 6-8.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 58; Phil. i. 27; Rev. ii. 1-5.

Bible Society ? Why is not the Tract Society so zealously sustained that its wholesome literature may surpass the number of infidel and licentious publications by millions ? Why is not the London City Mission, upon which the blessing of God has so signally rested, enabled to visit all the poor of London by means of four hundred missionaries instead of half of them by means of two hundred ? Why are not the Home Missionary and the Town Mission Societies enabled to send faithful preachers and paid missionaries into every ignorant and vicious parish in the kingdom ?

Further, as our age is distinguished by unprecedented mental activity, and learned men, without the smallest respect for revelation, are pushing their researches in every direction, some of them not only criticising with freedom, but questioning with an air of philosophical impartiality, its inspiration, its historical fidelity, its doctrines, and its morals, the churches ought to employ some of their ablest minds to add from time to time satisfactory works on evidence to those already in existence, which may maintain Christianity itself and its great truths against all modern opponents.

It seems to me that 10,800*l.* could now be very usefully employed by any opulent Christian in the following manner. Let the greatest minds in the churches of Christ, in Great Britain, the United States, France, and Germany, be invited to devote their thoughts to the defense of religion by the following prizes, open to competition in the three languages.

2000*l.* for each of the best essays on the four following subjects :—

1. The Being and Attributes of God.
2. The Person and Work of the Lord Jesus Christ.
3. The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit.
4. The Authenticity, Inspiration, and Character of the Books of the Bible.

100*l.* should be given to each of the three next best essays in each of the three languages ; so that each language should have one native essay besides the successful one.

50*l.* should be given for each best translation of the sixteen essays.

10,800*l.* so spent would be an exemplary tribute of gratitude to God from some opulent Christian.

What comparable results will flow from the 10,000*l.* lately given by the king of Prussia to endow a bishopric at Jerusalem? or from the 20,000*l.* spent by the bishop of Calcutta upon his cathedral? or from the 30,000*l.* lately given by a benevolent lady to erect a new church in Westminster? It would call forth the talent of some of the strongest minds to the defense and illustration of the only religion which can bless and save mankind; it might set the mind of Europe on the side of the Gospel; it would defeat Pantheism and Romanism, and it would go far to Christianize the literature of the four great nations which are leading the civilization of the world.

CONCLUSION.

The union of the Churches with the State is doomed. Condemned by reason and religion, by Scripture and by experience, how can it be allowed to injure the nation much longer? All the main principles upon which it rests are unsound. Its State-salaries, its supremacy, its patronage, its compulsion of payments for the support of religion, are condemned by both the precedents and the precepts of the word of God. We have seen that it sheds a blighting influence upon prelates, incumbents, curates, and other members of churches. It adds little to the number of pastors, it distributes them with a wasteful disregard to the wants of the population, and it pays least those whom it ought to pay most liberally. It excludes the Gospel from thousands of parishes; it perpetuates corruptions in doctrine; it hinders all scriptural discipline; it desecrates the ordinances of Christ, confounds the church and the world, foment schism among Christians, and tempts the ministers of Christ both in and out of the Establishment to be eager politicians. Further, it embarrasses successive governments, maintains one chief element of revolution in the country, renders the reformation of the Anglican Churches hopeless, hinders the progress of the Gospel throughout the kingdom, and strengthens all the corrupt papal Establishments of Europe.

Worst of all, it "grieves" and "quenches" the Spirit of God, who can not be expected largely to bless the churches which will not put away their sins.¹

¹ Ps. lxvi. 18; Isaiah i. 15, 16; lix. 1, 2; John ix. 31; xv. 7; 1 John iii. 22; Eph. iv. 30; 1 Thess. v. 19.

But when it shall be destroyed, we have reason to hope that the churches will revive in religion speedily. Sound doctrine will then be heard from most of the Anglican pulpits; evangelists will go forth into every part of the land; scriptural discipline will be restored; schisms will be mitigated; Christian ministers will cease to be political partisans; we may look for a larger effusion of the Spirit of God; and England may become the foremost of the nations in godliness and virtue.

Let all who fear and love God arise to accomplish this second Reformation. The work which our martyred forefathers began in the face of the dungeon and the stake, let us, in their spirit, complete!

If any one is undecided respecting the principles advocated in this work, let him compare the arguments adduced by Hooker and Warburton, by Chalmers and M'Neile, by Gladstone and Birks, on the one side, with those advanced by Dick and Graham, by Ballantyne and Conder, by Wardlaw, Vinet, and Gasparin, on the other. Let him study the history of the Free Churches of Scotland and of Vaud. Let him attentively observe the phenomena of State churches in Scotland, in Switzerland, and in France. Let him examine, as they are developed by Mr. Baird, the grand results of spiritual liberty in the United States. And then let him determine his conduct, without regard to interest, fashion, or friendship, in loyalty to Christ, and as accountable to the heart-searching God.

Since many will hold back from even an examination of truths which entail momentous consequences to themselves, each disciple of Christ, who ascertains the separation of the churches from the State to be his Master's will, must count it an honor to serve him singly, if need be, in this conflict. Great events in history have waited on the actions of a few intrepid men. Hampden, by his resolute resistance to an act of tyranny, awoke in his countrymen the spirit which secured our liberties. The gallantry of Clive saved our Indian empire. Luther long thought and labored almost alone. The extensive revival of the last century was owing, under God, to Wesley and Whitefield,

with very few companions Let each member of the Establishment, therefore, who comprehends this duty, determine that he will, without waiting for the decision of others, do his utmost, in the name of Christ, to secure the freedom of the Anglican Churches from the shackles of the State.

Members of congregations, who already maintain your ministers in connection with the union, by which your own functions are abandoned and your ministers fettered, release them, and recover your own sacred rights, by declaring that you will be free. A few such instances in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Birmingham, would awaken the whole nation to their duty.

With greater confidence I address my brethren of the free churches. There should be no longer disunion or sloth. Independents and Baptists, Wesleyans and members of the Free Church of Scotland, let us all, with united voices, from Caithness to Cornwall, claim, in the name of Christ, the Christian liberty of the British Churches; and this generation may yet see accomplished a second Reformation more spiritual, and not less extensive, than the first.

Above all, let us take care to fulfill this duty in a Christian spirit. No religious cause requires irreligious means for its advancement. Let us disgrace ourselves by no railing, condemn all personal invective, and be guilty of no exaggeration, for these are the weapons of the weak and the unprincipled; but, uniting with all those who love the Redeemer, let us recognize with gratitude every work of the Spirit within the Establishment as well as without it. And with much prayer, with constant dependence on the Holy Spirit, with a supreme desire to glorify God, and with an abundant exercise of faith, hope, and love, which are our appropriate armor in every conflict, let us persevere in our efforts till the blessing of God renders our triumph a decisive step toward the evangelization of the world.

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